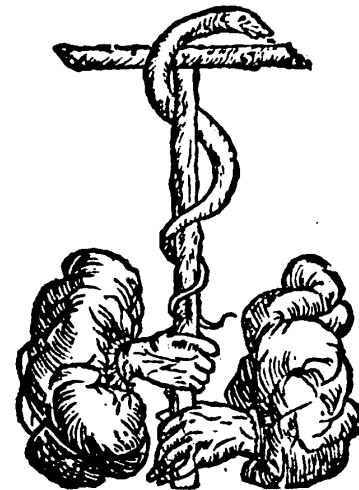


THE  
Pleasant Historie of the  
Conquest of the VVeait India,  
*now called new Spayne,*

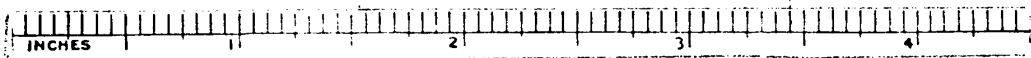
Atchieued by the vvorthy Prince  
*Hernando Cortes Marques of the valley of  
Huaxacac, most delectable to Reade;*

Tranllated out of the Spa-  
*nish tongue, by T. N.*

Anno. 1578.



Imprinted at London by  
*Henry Bynneman.*



TO THE RIGHT HO-  
norable, Sir Francis VValsingham  
*Knight, principall Secretary to the*  
Queenes most excellent Maiestie,  
*and one of hir highnesse most Honorable*  
*privie Counsell.*



Hilest I abode (right Honorable)  
in the Isle of Palma, in affaires of  
merchandize for the vvorshipfull  
*Thomas Locke* deceased, and his com-  
pany, time then permitted me, to  
haue cōference vvith auncient gen-  
tlemen vvhicke had serued in the Conquest of the  
vvest India, novve called nevve Spaine, vnder the  
princely Captaine *Hernando Cortez*. By vvhom as pre-  
sent vvitnesses at many of the actes herein contay-  
ned, I vvvas credibly informed, that this delectable  
and vvorthy Historie is a most true and iust reporte  
of matter past in effect: vvherefore I did the more  
vvillingly turne ouer and peruse the same, vvhicke  
is a Mirrour and an excellent president, for all such  
as shall take in hande to gouerne nevve Discoueries:  
for here they shall behold, hovv Glorie, Renovvne,  
and persite Felicitie, is not gotten but vvith greate  
paines, trauaile, perill and daunger of life: here shall  
they see the vvisedome, curtesie, valour and pollicie  
of vvorthy Captaynes, yea and the faithfull hartes  
vvhicke they ought to beare vnto their Princes ser-  
uice: here also is described, hovv to vse and correct  
the stubbern & mutinous persons, & in vvhat order

## The Epistle

to exalt the good, stout and vertuous Souldiers, and chiefly, how to preferue and keepe that bevvtrifull Dame *Lady Victorie* vvhē she is obtayned. And vvhē it vvas supposed, that the golden mettall had his beginning and place in the East and VVeast *India*, neare vnto the hote *Zoane*, (as moste learned vvriters helde opinion) it is novve approued by the venturous trauellour and vvorthy captaine *Martin Erebiſher* Esquire, yea and also through the greate paynes, procurement, and firste inuention of the vvorshipfull *Mychaell Locke* Merchaunt, that the same golden mettall dothe also lie incorporate in the bowvelles of the Norvveast parties, enuironned vvith admirable Towvers, Pillers and Pynacles, of Rockes, Stone, and Iſe, possessed of a people bothe straunge, & rare in shape, attire and lyuing, yea suche a Countrey and people, as all *Europe* had forsaken and made no account of, excepte our moste gracious Queene and hir subiectes, vvhome vndoubtedly God hath ap-  
poynted, not onely to be supreme Princeſſe over them, but also to be a meane that the name of Christ may be knowven vnto this Heathenish and Sauage generation.

Not long since (right Honorable) I happened to trauayle from the famous Cittie of *Toledo* in *Spayne*, to vvarde highe *Castile*, and by fortune ouertooke an auncient Gentlemen, vvorshipfully accompanied, vnto vvho I vvas so bold as to approach, beseeching his vvorship to aduertise me of his iourney: vvho (after he had beheld my white head & beard) answered ful gently, that his intēt vvas to trauayle vnto the king  
of

## Dedicatory.

of *Spaynes* Court, and vvclcomed me vnto his company. In shorte space that vve had iourneyed together, and communed of each other his Countrey, it pleased him to say as follovveth: My good friende, if you knew my sute vnto the Kings maiestie, you vvould iudge that I vvēre a mad man, and therefore to shorten our vvay, I vvill declare my attempted sute vnto you. You shall vnderstande, that I am a Gentleman of lxx. yeares of age, and sometimes I serued in the ciuill vvarrs of *Pirru*, vvhere I vvas vvounded in diuers parts of my body, and am novv thereby lame in one of my legges and shoulder. I haue neyther VVife nor childe, and at this presente (God be praised) I haue in the Contractation house in the Citie of *Sinill*, in golde and plate, the summe of thirtie thousande Duckates: and I haue also in *Pirru* in good lands and possessions, the yearely rente of vvēlue thousande Duckates, vvhicke rentes and readye money is sufficiente to mainteyne a poore Gentleman. But al this notwithstanding, I do novv sue vnto the Kings Maieſtie, to haue licence and authoritie to discouer and conquere a certayne parte of *India*, vvhyche adioyneth vvith *Brazile*, and is part of the Empire of *Pirru*, I pray you novve declare what you thinke of my sute. By my troth sir (quoth I) I trust your vvorship vvill pardon a rash and sūdaine iudgemēt, which you now demand at my hād: yea truly (quoth he) say vvhat you list. Then (quoth I) my opiniō is, that you are not wel in your wit, for vvhat vvould you haue? vvil not reason suffice you? or else vvould you now in your old days be an Empe-

## The Epistle

considering that your Sepulchre attendeth for you,  
Nowtruly I thanke you (quoth he) for of youre  
iudgement are most men: but I say vnto you, consi-  
dering that all flesh must finish, I seeke for no quiet  
rest in this transitorie life: yea the vvise and Christis-  
an Doctors do teach and admonish, that euery true  
Christian is borne, not for his ovvne priuate vvealth  
and pleasure, but rather to help and succoure others  
his poore brethren. Likevvise doe I consider the  
greate number of Gentlemen, yonger brethren, and  
other valiant persons, vvho through vvant of liuing,  
do fall into many disorders. VVherefore to accom-  
plish my dutie tovvard God and my Prince, and to  
relecue such poore Gentlemen, do I novv attempte  
this iourney, vvith the aduenture of my bodye and  
goodes, and for that purpose I haue in readinesse  
foure tall Shippes, vvell furnished in the porte of  
*Saint Lucar de Barrameda*, hoping assuredlye, that before  
the life depart from my body, to heare these valiante  
yong Gentlemen (vvhome novv I meane to haue in  
my company) say, oh happie day, vvhen olde *Zarate*  
(for so is my name) broughte vs from penurie, yea  
and from a number of perils that vve vv ere like to  
fall into: I hope also, that the royall estate of my  
Prince shall be by my paynes and poore seruice en-  
larged: beleeue you me, this is the onely sumptuous  
Tumbe that I pretende to builde for my poore car-  
kas. But yet I knowv there are some, vnto vvhome  
I may compare the Bore that lyeth vvallouvyng  
in his Styre, vvho vvill not lette to saye, vvhat neede  
vve any other vvorld, honor, or Kingdomes? let vs  
be

## Dedicatory.

becontented vvith that vve haue: vvho may easily  
be aunsvvered, Sir glutton, your paunch is full, and  
little care you for the glory of God, honor of youre  
Prince, neyther the neede and necessitie of youre  
poore neyboures. VVith this conclusion the Gentle-  
man ended his tale, the iudgement vvhereof I leaue  
to noble Gentlemen his peeres to be determined.

And vvhere oure Captayne *Hermando Cortez*, of  
vvhose valiant actes this historic treateth, hath de-  
serued immortal fame, euē so doubtlesse I hope, that  
vvithin this happie Realme is novv liuing a Gentle-  
man, vvhose zeale of trauayle and valiant begin-  
nings dothe prognosticate greate, maruellous, and  
happie successe: for perfection of honor and profite  
is not gotten in one daye, nor in one or tvvo voya-  
ges, as the true histories of the East and VVest Con-  
quests by Spanyardes and Portingalles do testifie.  
And calling to remembrance the greate zeale and  
good vvill vvhich your honor hath alvvayes exten-  
ded to good and profitable attemptes, and especially  
in the proceedings of the nev v discouery, youre ho-  
nor hath not only vsed liberalitie in your aduētures,  
but also taken greate paynes in Courte, to aduance  
and further the voyage, a number I saye of Gentle-  
men, Marriners, and other artificers, shal haue great  
cause to pray for your honor. And vvhere I for my  
parte haue tasted of your honors goodnesse sundrye  
vvayes, I am novv most humbly to beseech youre  
honor to accept this poore gifte, the vvliche I haue  
translated out of the Spanish tong, not decked vvith  
gallant coulours, nor yet fyled vvith pleasant phrase

of



## The Epistle

of Rhetorike, for these things are not for poore Marchant trauellers, but are reserued to learned VVriters: yet I trust the Author vvill pardon mee, bycause I haue gone as neere the sense of this Historie, as my cunning vvoulde reach vnto. I also craue, that it may please youre honor, vvhen your greate and vvaightie businesse vvill permitte, to beholde this vvorke, and that shall be for me an encouragement to take in hande the translation of the East India, vvhiche is novve enioyed by the King of Portingall. Thus I ende, beseeching the Almighty to preserue your honorable estate.

(?)

Your honors most ready at commaundment  
Thomas Nicholas.



## To the Reader.



I thought it good gentle Reader, to aduertise thee to consider in reading this historie, that *Hernando Cortes* was not the first that did discouer the newe Spayne, for after the Islands of *Santo Domingo* and *Cuba* were discouered, conquered, and inhabited by the Spaniards, *Hernando Cortes* was then a dweller in the Island of *Santo Domingo*, and at that time was gouernoure in the Island of *Cuba* one *James Velasques*, who had vnderstanding (by others) that nere vnto those Isles there a firme land, riche of gold and plate, wherevpon the same *Velasques* prepared certayne shippes, and in them sente for Generall a kinsman of his called *John de Grijalua*, who with one *Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba*, discouered the said firme land in trafike of merchandise, and for things of little value, he broughte great treasure, as shall appeare in an Inuentorie placed in this historie.

This *Grijalua* pretended not to conquer, nor yet to inhabite, but onely to fill his hungry belly with golde and siluer, for if hee had pretended honor, then *Cortes* had not enioyed the perpetuall fame which now is his, although his corpe be clothed in clay.

In this historie both appeare the simplicitie of those ignorant Indians in time past, yea and how they were deluded in worshipping Idolles and wicked *Mamon*, their bloudy slaughte of men in sacrifice, and now the greate mercie of *Iesus Christ* extended vpon them in lightning their darkenesse, giuing them knowledge of the eternitie, and holy trinitie in vnitie, whereby they are nowe more deuoute vnto heauenly things than we wretched Chry-

b.

stians,

## To the Reader..

arians, (who presume of aunciente Christianitie) especiallye in Charitie, humilitie, and liuely workes of faith.

And now (gentle Reader) I do for my part but onely craue, that it may please thee to accept these my paynes taken, in good part, for other benefyte I seeke not,  
Farewell.

(T. N.)



## Stephan Gosson in prayse of the Translator.

The Poet which sometimes hath trod awry,  
And long in verse the force off trye loue,  
When he beholde his lute with carefull eye,  
Thinks on the dumps that he was wonte to pious.  
His groning spright pyricht with tender ruth,  
Calles then to minde the tollies of his youth.

The hardy minde whiche all his honour gotte,  
In bloudy felde by fruite of deadly iarrt,  
When once he heares the noise of thirted Morte,  
And threathnyng trumpet sounde the pointes of warre,  
Remembers how through pykes he lobde to runne,  
When he the pyce of endlesse glory wonne.

The traucter which nere refused the varne,  
To passe the daunger of the streights he founde,  
But hopsted sayle to searche the golden bayne,  
Whiche natures crasie hath hidden in the grounde,  
When he perceiues Don Cortez here so pearte,  
May well be mindefull of his owne descrite.

Then yeelde we thanks to Nicholas for his toyle,  
Who strings the Lute that putteth vs in minde,  
How doting dayes haue giuen vs all the foyle,  
Whille learned wittes in forraine landes doe finde,  
That labour beares away the golden hecce,  
And is rewarded with the flower of Grece.

Loe here the trumpe of euertlasting fame,  
That rendes the ayre in sunder with his blaske,  
And throwes abroad the prayles of their name,  
Which ofte in fight haue made their tocs agast.  
Though ther be dead, their glory shall remarne,  
To reare alofte the dedes of haughty Spayne.

Loe here the traucter, whose paynefull quill,  
So tyuely payntes the Spanissh Indies out,  
That English Gentlemen may vew at will,  
The manly prowesse of that gallant route.  
And when the Spamarde vaunteth of his golde,  
Their owne reasone in him they may beholde.

FINIS.

# In Thomæ Nicholai occidenta- lem Indiam St. Gosson.

*Sordescant Croci radiantia solita Pyropo,  
Et iaceat rutili pompa superba Myda.  
Aurea felici voluntur secula cursu,  
Pastorali assidue flumina vera rumens.  
Terra ferax pandit sua viscera plena metallis  
Pragnans, diuitias parturit illa suas.  
India luxuriat, locuplesi prole triumphat,  
Pingue solum gemmis, fundere gessit opes.  
O vos qui patriæ cupitis fulcine ruamam,  
Et dare mella boni aurea, mentis opo.  
Cortez hos animo cupide lustrare labores,  
Postq̃, reluctans credite vela solo.*

# The Conquest of the West India.

## The Byrth and lynage of Hernando Cortez.



In the yeare of our Saviour,  
1485, being kings of Castile and  
Aragon, the Catholike princes  
Fernando and Isabell his wyfe,  
was borne Hernando Cortez in  
a towne called Medellin, situa-  
ted in the prouince of Andulo-  
zia: his father was named  
Martyn Cortez de Monroy, & his  
mother was called Lady Katherin Pisarro Alcamirano, they  
were bothe of good byrth, and proceeded from foure prin-  
cipall houses, that is to say, the house of Cortez, the house  
of Monroy, the house of Pisarro, and the house of Alcamira-  
no, which foure houses are auncient, noble and honorable:  
yet these parents but poore in goods, but riche in vertue &  
good life, for whiche cause they were muche esteemed and  
beloued among theyr neighbours. His mother was of  
inclination deuoute, but somewhat harde: his father was  
charitable and mercifull, who in his youth applied him-  
selfe to the warres, and was Lieutenant to a company of  
horsemen. Hernando Cortez in his childehood was very  
sickely, so that many tymes he was at the poynnt of death:  
And when he came to .xiiij. yeres of age, his parents sent  
him to the Vniuersitie of Salamanca, where he remayned  
two yeares, learning Grammar, and then returned to  
Medellin werte of his studie, yea possible for want of mo-  
ney: yet his parëts were much offended with him for lea-  
uing his studie, for theyr onely desire was to haue had  
him

him a student at lawe, whiche is a facultie both riche and woorthipfull, considering their sonne to be of a good witte and abilitie: Yet he caused muche strife in his fathers house, for he was a very unhappy ladde, high minded, and a louer of chivalrie, for which cause he determined with himselfe to wander abroad to seeke adventures. And at that instant happened two journeyes fit for his purpose & inclination. The one of them was to Naples with *Gonsalo Hernandez* of the Citie of Cordoua, who was a woorthy man, & named the great capitaine. And the other journey was to the Weast India, with the Lorde *Nicholas de Ovando*, a knight of the order of *Lorez*, who was then appointed for governour of those parties. And musing with himselfe which waye to take, determined to passe into India, chiefly because the governour was of his acquaintance, and such a one as would haue care of him. And likewise the great desire of gold made him to couet that voyage more than the Journey vnto Naples. Now in the meane while that y<sup>e</sup> fleet was preparing for India, it chaunced, *Hernando Cortez* pretended to go vnto a certaine house in the night season to talke with a woman, and clymning ouer a Wall whiche was of weake foundation, both he and the Wall fell together: So that with the noyse of hys fall, and rattling of his armour which he wore, came out a man newly married, and finding him fallen at hys doore would haue slayne hym, suspecting somewhat of his newe married wife, but that a certaine olde woman (being his mother in lawe) with great perswasions stayed him from that fact. Yet with the fall he fell into a grievous Ague, and continued sicke for a long season, so that he could not proceede vpon his voyage with the governour *Ovando*. And when he had obtained and fullye recovered his health, he mynded to passe into Italy, And so toke hys way towarde *Malandia*, wandering

wandering here and there almoste a whole yeare with much necessitie and penurie, and then returned home againe to *Medellyn*, with determination to proceed vpon his pretended voyage of India: Wherevpon hys father and mother waiving their sonnes estate, desired God to blesse hym, and gaue him money in his purse for his iourney.

### The age of Cortez vwhen he passed into India.



*Ernando Cortez* was of the age of nineteene yeares, in the yeare of Christ 1504. and then he went toward India, and agreed for his passage and victual with *Alonso Quintez* who went in companie of other four shippes laden with merchandise, whiche naue departed from *Saint Lucas de Barramedo*, with prosperous nauigation, vntill they arrived at the Ilande of *Gomera* one of the *Canarie* Ilands, where they did prouide themselves of all things necessarie for so long a voyage as they then had in hand.

*Alonso Quintez*, being greedy of his voyage, and desirous to come to the Ilands of *Sainto Domingo* before his fellowes, hoping to sel his commoditie the better, departed from *Gomera* in the night season without knowledge giuing vnto his company. But incontinent after he had boyled by his sayles, arose vp so great a winde and tempest that his maine mast brake, whereby hee was forced to retorne backe againe to the Ilande of *Gomera*. And he made earnest requeste to them of the other shippes to staye for him, vntill hee hadde mended his Mast, who friendlye and neyghbourlye graunted hys desire,

B. y.

and

and departed altogether, saying in sight the one of the other certayne dayes: yet the sayde *Quintero*, seying the weather stedfast, and harpyng upon gaynes, slewe from his fellowes agayne. And where as *Frances Ninio de Guelus* his pilote was not experte in that Nauigation, they knew not where they were at length: the *Spaniers* did giue sundry Iudgements: the Pilote was in great perplexitie and sadnesse, their passengers lamented, and bewayled their vnforsunate successe: the Master of the shippe layde the faulte to the Pilote, and the Pilote likewise charged the Master, so it did appeare that they were fallen out befoze. In this meane time their victuall wared skant, and their freshe water wanted, so that they prepared themselves to die. Some cursed they fortune, others asked mercie at Gods hande, looking for death and to be eaten of the *Carines*. And in this tyme of tribulation came a Dove flying to the shippe, beyng on good Friday at Sunne sette, and satte him on the shippe toppe: whereat they were all comforted, and toke it for a miracle and good token and some wept with ioy, some sayd God had sente the Dove to comforte them, others sayde that lande was neare, and all gaue hartie thanks vnto God, directing their course that way that the Dove flew: and when the Dove was out of sight, they sorrowed againe, but yet remayned with hope to see shortlye lande and on Easterday they discovered the Ilande of *Santo Domingo*, whiche was firste discied by *Christopher Zorzo*, who cryed, lande, lande, a cherefull voyce to the saylers. The Pilote looked out, and knewe that it was the poynt, or cape of *Semana*, and within foure dayes after they arrived in the porte of *Santo Domingo*, whiche was long wished for, and there they founde the other Shippes of their company arrived many dayes befoze.

Comfort of  
God.

The

## The time that Cortez abode

in *Santo Domingo*.



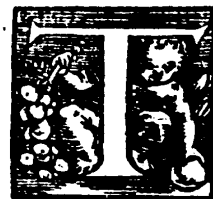
Done after that the Gouvernour *Quando* was in his regimende and office, Cortez arrived at *Santo Domingo*, and the Gouvernours Secretarie, called *Medina*, receyved and lodged him, and also informed him of the estate of the Ilande, and advised him what was needefull to doe, withing that hee would be a dweller there, and that he should haue a plot to build vpon, with certaine ground for husbandry. But Cortez his thought was cleane contrary, for hee iudged, that as soone as he came thither, he should lade with gold, whereby hee did little esteeme his friend *Medina* his counsell, saying, that he had rather goe to gather gold, than to trauell in husbandrye. *Medina* yet perswaded him, that he shoulde take better aduiseement, for to finde golde, was doubtfull, and very troublesome. This talke ended, Cortez went to kisse the Gouvernours handes, and to declare the cause of his comming, with other newes from *Extremadure* the Gouvernours Countrey. The Gouvernour friendly welcommed him, and also perswaded him to abide there, the which counsell he accepted, and shortlye after wente to the warres, whereof was Captayne *Iaymes Velasques*, in the prouince of *Anigua Iaqua*, and *Guacalarima*, and other Lordships whiche were not as yet pacified wpth the late rebellion of *Anacoana* widdowe, who was a gentlewoman of great liuing. *Quando* gaue vnto Cortez certayne Indysans in the Countrey of *Daigua*, and also the office of publike notarie in *Aqua*, a towne whych the Gouvernour had builded, and there dwelt Cortez fyue or syre yeares, and began to play the good husband. Now in this meane season he woulde haue gone to *Veragua*,

25.ij.

whiche

which was reported to be marvellous riche, with the Captayn *Jaymes de Nicuesa*: but bycause of an impostume that he had vnder his righte knee, he went not, and as it happened, he was therein fortunat, for that thereby he escaped great perils and troubles, whiche happened to them that went on that voyage and iourney.

### Things that happened to Cortez in the Ilande of Cuba.



**I**he Lorde *James Coleri* being Admirall and chiefe Gouvernour of the new India, sent one *Jaymes Velasques* to conquer the Ilande of *Cuba*, in the yeare. 1511. And gaue vnto him men, Armour, and other thinges necessarie. And then *Hernando Cortez* wente to that conquest as a Clarke to the Treasorer called *Michaell de Passamantes*, for to keepe the accounts of the Kings siftes and reuenues, being so intreated and required by the same *Jaymes Velasques*, bycause he was holden for a man both able and diligente. And it followed, that in the repartition of the lands conquered, *Jaymes Velasques* gaue vnto *Cortez* the Indians of *Manicorao*, in coniunct company with his brother in lawe called *Iuan Xuarez*, whereupon *Cortez* did inhabite in *Saint James de Barucoa*, whiche was the first place of habitation in that Ilande, whereas he bredde and broughte by hinc, sheepe, and swares, and was the first that hadde there any heard or focke, and with his Indians he gathered great quantitie of golde, so that in short time he waxed riche, and ioyned in company with one *Andres de Duero* a Merchant, and put in two thousande Castlins for his stocke. He was also highly esteemed with *Jaymes Velasques*, and put in authoritie to dispatch businesse, and to

giue

giue order for edifices. In his tyme he caused a money house to be built, & also an Hospital. At that time one *Iuan Xuarez* naturall of the Citie of *Granada*, carried to the Ile of *Cuba* his mother and thre sisters, whiche came to the Iland of *Santo Domingo*, with that vicequene the Lady *Mary of Toledo*, in Anno. 1509. hoping to marrie them there with rich men, for they were very poore. And the one of them named *Cathelina* was wont to say, That she shoulde be a greate Gentlewoman: it was eyther hy dreames and fantasies, or else some Astronomer hadde made hir beleue so, but hir mother was reported to be very cunning. The maydens were beautifull, for which cause, and also being there but fewe Spanishe women, they were muche made of, and often feasted. But *Cortez* was woer to the saide *Cathelina*, and at the ende married with hir: Although at the first there was some strife about the matter, and *Cortez* put in prison, bycause he refused hir for his wife, but she demaunded him as hir husband by faith and troth of hand: wherein *Jaymes Velasques* did stande hir friende, by reason of an other sister of hyrs which he had, but of an euil name. It so fell out that one *Baltazar Bermudez*, *Iuan Xuarez*, and the two *Anthony Velasques*, with one *Villegas* accused *Cortez*, that he ought to marrie with *Cathelina*, yet those witnesss spake of euill will many things, as touching the affaires committed to his charge, alleadging that he vsed secret dealing with certaine persons. The which causes although they were not true, yet they carried great colour therof. For why? many went secretly to *Cortez* his house, complayning of *Jaymes Velasques*. Some bycause they had not iust repertitiō of the conquered Indias, and other some not according to deserte. Contrariwise *Jaymes Velasques* gaue credit to his talebearers, because *Cortez* refused to marrie with *Cathelina Xuarez*, & vsed vncourteous words vnto him in the presence of many

W. iiii.

that

that stood by, and also commanded him to warde. And when Cortez sawe himselfe in the stocks, he feared some proces of false witnesse, as many times dothe happen in those parties. At time conueniente he brake the Locke off the stocks, and layde hand vpon the Sword and Target of the keeper, and brake by a windowe, escaping thereby into the streete, and toke the Church for Sanctuary. But when Iaymes Velasques had notice thereof, he was greatly offended with Christopher Lagos the Tayler, saying, that for money he had losed him: wherefore he procured by all meanes to plucke him out of the Sanctuary. But Cortez hauing intelligence of his dealing, did resiste and withstand his force. Yet notwithstanding one daye Cortez walking before the Church doore, and being carelesse of his businesse, was caught by the backe with a Sericant called Iohn Esquier and others, and then was put aboard a Shippe vnder hatches. Cortez was welbeloued among his neighboures, who did well consider the euill will that the Gouernour bare vnto him. But nowe Cortez seeing himselfe vnder hatches, despaired of his libertie, and did verily thinke, that he shoulde be sent prisoner to the Chancerie of Santo Domingo, or else to Spayne, who being in this extremitie, soughte all meanes to gett his foote out of the chayne, and at length he gotte it out, and the same nighte he changed his apparell with a ladde that serued him, and by the Pump of the Shippe he gotte out, not heard of any his keepers, climbing softly along the Shippe syde, he entred the Skiffe and went bys way therewith, and bycause they shoulde not pursue after him, he losed the Boate of another Shippe that roode by them. The Currant of Macaguanigua a riuer of Baruea, was so fierce, that he could not gette in with his Skiffe, bicause he had no help to rowe, & was also very werie, fearing to be drowned if he shoulde put himselfe to the land, where

Cortez  
escapeth.

wherefore he stripped himselfe naked, and tyed a night-kerchiefe aboute hys head, with certayne wyptings apperteyning to his office of Notarie and Clerkshippe to the Treasourer, and other things that were agaynst the Gouernour Iaymes Velasques, and in this sorte swanne to lande, and wente home to hys owne house, and spake with Iohn Xuarez hys brother in law, and toke Sanctuary agayne with Armour. When the Gouernour Iaymes Velasques sente hym worde, that all matters shoulde be forgotten, and that they shoulde remayne friends, as in tyme past they hadde bin, and to goe with hym to the Warres agaynst certayne Indians that hadde rebelled. Cortez made hym no aunswere, but incontinent married with mistresse Catalina Xuarez according to his promise, and to lye in peace. Iaymes Velasques proceeded on hys iourney wpth a greate companye agaynst the Rebelles. When sayde Cortez to hys brother in lawe Iohn Xuarez, bying me (quoth he) my Launce and my Crossebowe to the Townes ende. And so in that euening he wente out of Sanctuary, and taking hys Crossebowe in hande, he wente with his brother in lawe to a certayne farme, where Iaymes Velasques was alone, with his householde seruantes, for hys armye was lodged in a Village thereby, and came thither somewhat late, and at suche tyme as the Gouernour was perusing hys Booke of charges, and knocked at his doore which stood open, saying: Where is Cortez that woulde speake with the Gouernour, and so wente in. When Iaymes Velasques sawe hym armed, and at such an houre, he was marvellously afrayde, desiring hym to rest himselfe, and also to accepte hys Supper: No Sir (quoth he) my onely coming is, but to knowe the complayntes you haue of me, and to satisfie you therein, and also to be youre friende and seruitor. They then embraced eache other in token

C.

The Gouernour  
was sore  
afrayde.

of



of friendship. And after long talke, they lay both in one bedde, where *James de Orrelano* founde them, who went to carrie newes to the Gouvernoure, how *Cortez* had fledde. After this sozt came *Cortez* agayne to his former friendshyppe with *James Velasques*, and proceeded with him to the *Marres*, but afterwarde at his returne, he was lyke to haue bin drowned in the sea: for as he came from the *Caues* of *Bani* to visite certayne of his shepheardes and *Indians* that wrought in the *Spines* of *Barricoa* where his dwelling was, his *Canea* or little boate ouerthrew, being night, and halfe a league from land, with tempeste, wherby he was put to his shiftes, and forced to swimme, and happened to espye lyght that certayne shepheardes had which were at supper nere the *Sea side*. By suche like perils and daungers, runne the excellent merma their race, untill that they arriue at the *Hauen* where their good lotte is preserved.

### The discouerie of new Spayne.



**F**raunces Hernandez de Cordana did first discover *Xucatan*, going with three shippes for *Indians*, or else to barter. These shippes were sette forth by *Christopher Morante*, and *Lope Ochoa de Saicedo*, in Anno. 1517. And although he brought home nothing at that time but stripes, yet he brought perfect relation, how the Countrey was rich of gold and siluer, and the people of the countrey clothed. Then *James Velasques* Gouvernoure of the *Island* of *Cuba*, sent the next yeare following his kinsman, called *John de Grijalua*, with two hundred *spanyarden* in foure shippes, thinking to obtayne much gold and siluer for his merchandise at those places, which *Fraunces Hernandez* had enformed him: So that

that *John de Grijalua* wente to *Xucatan*, and there foughte with the *Indians* of *Champoton*, and was hurt. From thence he entred the river of *Tauasco*, which *Grijalua* hadde so named, in the whiche place he bartered for things of small value. He had in exchange golde, cloth of rotten wooll, and other curious things wrought of feathers. He was also at *Saint John de Vlhua*, and toke possession for the King, in the name of *James Velasques*, and there also exchanged his haberdashe wares, for Golde, and Couerlets of cotten, and feathers: and if he hadde considered his good fortune, he would haue planted habitation in so rich a land, as his company did earnestly request him, and if he had so done, then had he bin as *Cortez* was. But suche wealth was not for him which knew it not, although he excused himselfe, saying, he went not to inhabite, but to barter onely in traffike of his merchandise, and to discover whether that land of *Xucatan* were an *Islande*, or no. And finding it a mayne land, and populous, he left off for very feare. Likewise, some of his company were desirous to returne to *Cuba*, among whome, was one *Pedro de Aluado*, who was farre in loue with a woman of that countrey. So they determined to returne, with relation to the Gouvernoure of suche things as hadde happened till that day, and sayled homewardest along the coast to *Panuco*, and so came to *Cuba*, to the greate grieve of many of his company. For some of them wept, with sorowe that hee would not abide in that rich countrey. He was fene monethes upon his voyage homewarde from land to lande, and eyght monethes till his returne to the Citie. But when he came home, the Gouvernoure hauing hearde of his proceedings, would not loke vpon him, whiche was his iust reward.

Men engaged in foolish love.

C.ñ.

The



*The Inuentorie of the treasure that**Gryalus brought for his wares.*

**I**ohn de Gryalus bought of the Indians of Potonchan, Saint Iohn de Vlhua, and other places of that coast, suche thynges as made his fellowes farre in loue with the Countrey, and loth to depart from there. The workmanship of many of the things that they bought, was moze worth than the thing it selfe, as this Inuentory particularly doth shew.

*The Inuentory.*

**A** little Boll of golde hollowe.

A greater of golde, with hornes and heare, with a string of beades stones aboute his necke, and a flyeclappe in his hand, and a little stone for his naucill.

A peece of golde, like the patent of a Chalice, garnished with stones.

A Skull of golde, with two hornes, and blacke heare.

Two and twenty earrings of golde.

Two and twenty peeces of an other fashion.

Foure braceletes of golde very broad.

A payre of beades of golde, the stones hollowe, with a frogge of golde hanging at the same.

Another paire, with a Lyon of golde.

A great paire of earrings of golde.

Two little Eagles of golde hollowe.

A little Saltceller of golde.

Two earrings of golde with Turkie stones.

A collar to hang aboute a womans necke, of twelue peeces, with four and twenty stones hanging thereat.

A great collar of golde.

Sixe little collers of golde thynne.

*Beaues*

Seauen other collers of gold with stones.

Four earrings of gold in leafe.

Twentie fishinghookes of golde.

Twelue graines of gold, waying fiftie Duckets.

A headlace of gold.

Certaine thynne planches of gold.

A Botedge pot of gold.

An Boll of golde hollowe.

Certaine thynne brouches of gold.

Sixe beade stones of gold.

Two payre of gilt beades.

One payre of wooden beades gilt.

A little cuppe of golde, with eighte purple stones, and twentie thre stones of an other collour.

Four belles of gold.

A little sauser of gold.

A little boxe of gold.

Certaine smal collers of gold of smal value.

A hollow apple of gold.

Fourtie hatchets of gold mixed with copper, valued in two thousand five hundred Duckets.

A whole harness of furniture for an armed man of gold thynne beaten.

An other whole armour of wood with leaues of golde, garnished with little blacke stones.

A certaine piece made like vnto a feather, of an hyde and gold toynly wrought.

Four pieces of armour of wood made for the knees, and covered with golden leafe.

Two targets covered with feathers of many and syne colours.

Diuerse other targets of gold and feathers.

A taffe of feathers of sundry colours, with a little byrd in the midst, very liuely.

*C. 14.*

*A*

A wing of gold and feathers.

Two flyflappes of feathers.

Two little chamberpottes of Allabaster, beset with many trimme stones, and some syne, & among them there was one esteemed at two thousand Duckets.

Certaine beades of tinne.

Five paire of wooden beades rounde and covered wyth a lease of gold very thinne.

A hundred and thirty hollow bead stones of gold.

Many beades of woodde gilt.

A paire of bidders of wood gilt.

Two gilt visors.

A visor of strange gesture of gold.

Four visors of wood gilt.

Four dishes of wood covered with golden lease.

A dogges head of gold beset with stones.

An other beastes head garnished with gold.

Five paire of rush shoes.

Three red hides.

Seven rasors of flint stone, for to cut by men that were sacrificed.

Two painted dishes of wood with an ewer.

A garmēt with halfe feathers of feathers of exceeding fine colours.

A coverlet of feathers.

Many coverlets of cotten very fine.

Many other coverlets of cotten coarse.

Two kerchiefs of good cotten.

Many perfumes of sweete odor, much of that countrey fruits.

They also brought a gentlewoman that was given the, and other prisoner Indians. And for one of them was offered bys weight in golde, but Grijalva would not take it.

They

They also brought newes that there were *Amazons* women of warre, in certaine Ilandes, and manye gaue credit, being amazed at the things that they had brought bartered for things of a vile price: as here vnder appeareth the Merchandise that they gaue for al the aforesaid Jewels.

### The Inuentorie of the Spanish Merchandise.

Are course shirts.

Three paire of Maryners breeches of linnen.

Five paire of womens shoes.

Five broad leatherne girdels wrought with coloured thread, with their purses.

Manye purses of shepes skinne.

Sixe glasses a little gilt.

Foure branches of glasse.

Two thousand beadstones of glasse greene.

A hundred paire of beades of diuerse colours.

Twenty wooden combes.

Sixe paire of bidders.

Fiftene knives great and small.

A thousand taplers needles.

Two thousand pinnes of sorts.

Eight paire of corded shoes.

A paire of pinfers and a hammer.

Seauen red night cappes.

Three coates of colours.

A freese coate with a cap of the same.

An old greene velvet coate.

An olde velvet cappe.

The

The determination of Cortez to prepare a  
*Navie for discoverie.*



Because John de Grijalua was absent a longer season than was Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, before his returne, or giving advise of his proceedings, the gouvernour Valasques prepared a Caruel, and therein sent one Christofer de Olid, for to seeke Grijalua with succor if need wer, and gave Olid great charge, that he should returne with newes from Grijalua with all speede. But this messenger tarried but a small while upon his voyage, and saw but little of Yucatan, and not finding Grijalua, he returned backe againe to Cuba, which returne happed not wel for the gouvernour nor yet for Grijalua. For if he had proceeded forth on his way to Saint John de Ulua, hee had then mette with whom he sought for, and likewise caused him to have inhabited there. But he excused himself, alleaging that he had lost his ankers, and was therefore forced of necessitie to returne.

And as soone as Olid was departed on that voyage, Pedro de Alvarado returned to Cuba, wpth full relation of the discoverie, & brought many things to hym, wrought in gold, with strange coloured feathers, and cotton wool. The gouvernour James Valasques reioyced much to behold those principles: And all the Spaniards of Cuba wondered therat, and likewise to heare the whole relation of the journey. Yet the gouvernour feared the returne of his kinsman, because some of his companye that came sicke and diseased from those parties, saide that Grijalua meant not to inhabite there; and that the people and land was great, and also how the same people were warlike: likewise the gouvernour feared the wisdome and courage

courage of his kinsman. Whereupon he determined to send thither certaine shippes, with souldiers and armour, and other trifling things, thinking chiefly to enrich himself by barter, and also to inhabite by force. He requested one Baltazer Vermudez to take that voyage in hand, who accepted the offer, but he demanded three thousand duc-kets for his furniture and provision. Their gouvernour hearing this demand, answered, that in suche sorte the charges would be more than the profite: And so for that tyme left off the matter, because he was couetous, and loth to spend, thinking to provide an army at other mens cost, as he had done before, when Grijalua went firste on that voyage, for at that time one Francisco de Montez did furnish one shippe. And also certaine gentlemen called Alauiso Fernadez, Porto Carero, Alauiso de Anila & James de Ordas with many others, wente with Grijalua at theyr proper costes and charges. It followed that the gouvernour brake the matter to Cortez, & required that the voyage should be set forth betwixte them, knowing that Cortez had two thousand Castlyns of gold in the power of one Andres de Duero, a merchaunt, and also that Cortez was a man diligent, wise, and of stout courage. Cortez being of haughtye stomacke, accepted both the voyage and the charges, thinking the cost would not be much, &c. So that the voyage and agremente was concluded, whereupon they sent one John de Sanzedo to the kings counsell and chauncery, resident in the Island of Santo Domingo, who were then religyous persons, to haue and obtain of them licence, freely to goe and traffike into those parties of newe discoverie, and also to seeke for John de Grijalua, for they imagyned that wthout hym small trafficke would be hadde, whyche was, to exchange trifles of Haberdashe for golde and syluer. The chiefe rulers of gouernemente at that tyme

in þe kings counsell there, were these following, *Signiour Aloüso de Sãti Domingo*, *Signiour Luy de Figueroa*, & *Signiour Barnardo de Munfano*, who graunted the licence, and appointed *Hernando Cortez* for captaine Generall of the voyage, and setter forth in company of *James Velasques*. They also appointed a Treasurer, and Surueyours to procure for the kings portion of parte, whych was according to custome one fiftie parte. In thys meane season *Cortez* prepared hymselfe for the Journey, and communed wth his especiall friendes to see who would beare hym companye: And hee founde thre hundred men that agreed to his request. He then bought a Caruell and Uergantine, and another Caruell that *Pedro de Aluaredo* brought home. An other Uergantine he had of *James Velasques*: he provided for them armour, artillery, and other Munition: hee brought also wyne, Oyle, Beanes, Pease, and other victuals necessarye: he toke by also vpon his credite, of one *James Saucedo* muche Haberdashe, to the value of seauen hundred Castlyns in golde. The gouernour *Velasques* deliuered vnto hym a thousande Castlyns whych he possessed of the goods of one *Pamfilo de Naruair* in his absence, alleaging that he had no other money of his owne proper. And beeyng in thys manner agreed, the Articles and Couenauntes were drawen and set downe in wytyng, before a Notary, called *Alonso de Escalantes*, the thre and twenty day of October Anno. 1518.

In this meane time arriued at Cuba, *John de Grijalua*, vpon whose arriuall, the gouernour chaunged his purpose and pretence, for hee refused to disburse any moze money, nor yet would consent that *Cortez* should furnish his shauie. For the onely cause was, that he ment to dispatch backe againe his kinsman and his army. But to behold the stout courage of *Cortez*, his charges, and liberalitie

The coming  
home of  
Grijalua.

beralltie in expences, it was straunge, and to see how hee was deceiued. And also to consider, the flatterie and deceite of his aduersarie, yea what complaints were made to the Lord Admiral, saying that *Cortez* was subtil, high minded, and a louer of honoꝝ, which were tokens that he would rebel, being in place conuenient, and that he would be reuenge olde griefes. Also it grieved *Vermudez* that he had not accepted þe voyage, vnto who it was once offered, seeing the great treasure that *Grijalua* had brought, & what a rich land the countrey newly discovered was. Also he pretended that þe gouernour would be chieftain of þe fleet, although his kinsman were not fit for þe roome. The gouernour also thought þe he being slacke, *Cortez* would also be slacke. But yet he seeing *Cortez* earnestly proceed, he sent one *Amador de Larez* a principal man, to intreate him to leaue off þe voyage (considering þe *Grijalua* was returned) and þe he would pay him al þe costs & charges þe he had layd out. *Cortez* vnderstanding the gouernours minde, made answer vnto *Larez*, þe he would not leaue of the Journey, for very shame, nor yet breake the agreement made. And also if *Velasques* would send a shauy for his owne account, he would be contente, for (quoth he) I haue already my licence and dispatch of the fathers & gouernours. And the he conferred with his friendes, to knowe their mindes if that they would fauour and beare him company, at whose bandes he found both ready helpe and friendshippe. Hee sought then for money, and toke by vpon his credit foure hundred Castlyns in gold, of his friend *Andreas de Duero*, & of *Pedro de Xerez* & others. With þe which money he bought two shyps, 6. horses, & much apparel, & began to furnish a house & kepe a good table for comers & goers: he went also armed like a captaine, & many wayting & attending vpon him, whereat diuerse murmured, saying that hee was a Lord without rente. In thys meane whyle came

The gouernour  
an  
old enemy.

Courage of  
*Cortez*.

D. 4.

*Grijalua*

*Grijalua* to the Cittie of *Sainte James de Cuba*: but his kinseman the gouernour woulde not loke vpon hym because he had leste and forsaken so riche a lande. Also it grieued him inwardlye that *Cortez* proceeded thitherward so strong and mightye, and coulde by no meanes disturbe or lette hym, and to see the greate traine that wayted vpon hym wth manye of them that had byn the other voyage wth *Grijalua*: yea if that he should disturbe him, blood shedde woulde follow in the Cittie. So that he was forced to dissemble his sorrow. Yet (as many affyrme) hee commaunded that hee shoulde haue no victuals solde vnto hym. So the *Cortez* departed from thence, proclaiming himselfe for General, and that the gouernour *Velasques* had nothing to doe wth his partye, requesting his soldiers to embarke themselves wth such victuals as they had. He also bargayned wth one *Fernando Alonso* for certayne hogges and sheepe that were prepared for the shambles, and gaue vnto hym a chayne of golde and brouches for payment, and also moneye, to pay the penaltie that the butcher fel into for not prouiding the Cittie. And so he departed fro *Saint James de Baracoa* the eighteenth of Nouember, with about thre hundred Spaniardes in sixe shippes.

The nauie and men that *Cortez* caried  
with him to the Conquest.



*Cortez* departed from *Saint James de Baracoa* with small prouision of victuals for suche a number of men, and also for the nauigation whiche as yet was vncertaine. And beeing out of that parte, he

he sent *Pedro Xuarez Gallinato* with a Caruell to *Lymaica* for vittailles, commaunding him, that those things which he shoulde there buy, to goe therewith to *Cape de Corrientes*, or to *S. Anthonies point*, which is the farthest part of that Island Westward. And he himselfe wente with his companye to *Mataca*, and boughte there greate quantitie of bread, and some hogges, of one *Taymaio*. Then he proceeded to the *Trinitie* Islande, and there boughte an other Shippe of one *Alonso Guillen*. And of perticulare persons he bought thre horses, and fve hundred bushels of Corne. And being there at roade, he had aduice, that *John Nones Sedenio* passed that way with a Shippe laden with victuals, for to make sale thereof at the *Opines*. Where vpon he sente *James de Ordaz*, with a Caruell well armed, for to take him, and to bring him vnto *S. Anthonies point*. *Ordaz* went and toke him at the Channell de *Iardines*, and brought him to the place appointed. *Sedenio* broughte the register of his merchandise, whiche was greate store of bread, Bacon, and Hennes: *Cortez* gaue him chaynes of golde, and other pieces for payment, and a bil for the rest. In consideration whereof, *Sedenio* wente with him to the Conquest. In the *Trinitie* Islande *Cortez* gathered together two hundred men more, who had bin in *Grijalua* his company, and were dwellers in that Island, and in *Matancas*, *Carenias*, and other Villages, and sending his ships forward, he went with his men by land to *Hauana*, which was then inhabited on the South side in the mouth of the riuer called *Onicaxinall*, but there they would sell him no prouision, for feare of the Gouernour *Velasques*. But yet one *Christopher Galsada* rentgatherer to the Bysshoppe, and recepuer for the Popes Bulles, solde to him great store of Bacon and bread of that Countrey called *Maiz*, and other prouision, whereby his flote was reasonably prouided, &c. And then he beganne to distribute his men and

D. ly.

vittayles

vittayles abowde eache vessell in good order. Then came Aluaro with his carnell, with his other friends Christopher de Olid, Alonso de Auila, Francisco de Monteio, & many others of Grijalua's company, who had bin to talke with the Gouvernour Velasques. And among them came one Garnica so called, with letters for Cortez from Velasques, wherein he wrote, desiring him to abide there, for that he meant to come himselfe, or else to send vnto hym, to treat of matters profitable for them both.

Also, the sayd Gouvernour sente other secret letters to James de Ordaz and others, requiring them to apprehende and take prisoner Cortez. Nowe Ordaz did invite Cortez to a banquet abowde his Caruel, thinking by that meanes to catche Cortez in a snare, and so to carrie him prisoner to the Citie of Saint James de Barotoa, but Cortez understood the matter, and sayned hymselfe to be very sicke, and also fearing some bypote, he went abowde his Shippe Admirall, and shot off a peece of Ordnance, giving warning to his Spanie to be in a readinesse to make sayle, and to follow him to Saint Anthonies poynte, whiche was done with expedition, and there in the Towne of Guani Guaniga he mustered his men, and found thus hundred and fiftie Spaniards, wherof fiftie were Marriners. He deuised them into eleuen companies, and appointed these persons following for Captaynes, that is to say, Alonso de Auila, Alonso Fernandez Porto Carrero, James de Ordaz, Francisco de Monteio, Francisco de Morla, Francisco de Salzedo, John de Escalante, John Velasques de Leon, Christopher de Olid, and one Escobar, and he himselfe as Generall toke one Company. He made these many Captaynes, because his whole flete was eleuen sayle, and that eache of them shoulde severally be Captayne, both of Shippes and men. He also appoynted for chiefe Pilote Antonio de Alaminos, who had taken charge before with Francisco de Her-

A snare  
layde for  
Cortez.

nandez de Cordova, and Grijalua. &c. He carried also 200 Indians, bozne in y<sup>e</sup> Ile of Cuba, to serue and to carrie baggage, & also certayne Negros with some Indian womē, and sixteene Horses & Mares, with great prouision of Bacon, cozne, bisket, hennes, wine, oyle, pease, and other fruites, w<sup>th</sup> great store of Haberdash, as Belles, necklaces, beades of glasse, collers, points, pinnes, purses, nedels, girdels, thredde, knives, siffers, pinsars, hām ers, batchets, Shirts, Copses, headkerchiefes, handkerchiefs, breeches, coats, clokes, cappes, Marriners breeches, all y<sup>e</sup> which Merchandise he deuised amōg his nauie. The Ship Admirall was of the burthen of a hundred Tunnes. At her thre Shippes of the burthen of eightie Tunnes the peece. All the residue were small withoute overloppe, and vergan incs. The deuice of his ensigne or aunciente, was flames of fire in white and blew, with a redde crosse in the midst, and bozded round with letters, in the Latine and Spanishe tonges, which signified this in effect: friends, let vs follow the Crosse, and with liuely faith with this standerde we shall obteyne victorie. The premises (as ye haue hearde) was the furniture that Cortez prouided for his iourney, and with so small a thing he conquered so greate and mightie an Empire, & strange Countreys, vnknownen at that time. There was neuer Captayne that did with like army overcome so infinite a people, & bring both thē and their countrey vnder subiectiō. He caried no money to pay his souldiers, but was rather much indebted to others at his departure. And to say the truth, there needed any money to make pay to those souldiers that went to the Conquest, for if they shuld haue serued for wages, they would haue gone to other places nere hand. But in India, every one pretteth y<sup>e</sup> state of a noble man, or else great riches. Now all y<sup>e</sup> fletes being in readinesse (as ye haue hearde,) Cortez began an exhortation to his company as followeth.

W. lly.

The

The Oration that Cortez made  
to his Souldiers.

My loving fellowes and déere friends, it is certayne that every balliant manne of stout courage, doth procure by déedes to make him selfe equall with the excellent men of his time, yea and with those that were before his time. So it is, that I do now take in hand such an enterpryse, as godwilling shall be hereafter of greate fame, for myne heart doth pronosticate unto me, that we shall winne greate and rich Countreys, and manye people, as yet neuer séene to anye of oure nation, yea and (I beleue) greater Kingdomes than those of oure Kinges. And I assure you, that the desyre of glorie dothe further extend, than treasure, the whiche in sorte, mostall life doth obtayne. I haue now prepared Shippes, Armoꝝ, Hoꝝles, and other furniture for the warres, with victuall sufficient, and all things that are vied as necessary in Conquestes. I haue bin at greate costes and charges, wherein I haue not onely employed myne owne goodes, but also the goodes of my friends, yet me thinketh that the employmente thereof dothe encrease my treasure and honoꝝ. We ought (loving fellowes) to leaue off small things, when greate matters doe offer themselves. And euen as my trust is in God, euen so greate prosperitie shall come to our things, and a nation of this sort shall be, than hath heretofore of any other. I doe not speake thus acceptable it will be to God our sauour, for whoso loue I do chiefly and willingly hazard my goodes and liues, I will not now retreat at the perill and danger of this warre. I haue rather chosen to begin this voyage, than to see my good men doe rather repent renouncing, than to see them doe victorie attempt and begin to winne. And thus I do bid you adieu, and

Iust, and the almighty God in whose name and holy faith this voyage is begonne, will assuredly graunte vnto vs victory, and the time will shew the end of things well begonne. Therefore we will now haue an other manner in our proceedings, than eyther Cordoua or Grijalua hadde, whereof I meane not now to dispute, for the presente time doth hasten vs away, but at our arriual, we will do what shall seeme vnto vs conuenient. Héere déere friends do I lay before you great ganyes, but wrapped in greate trauell, yet Vertue is an enimie to idlenesse. &c. Therefore if you will accept hope for Vertue, or Vertue for hope, and also if ye forsake me not, as I will not forsake you, I will with Gods help make you in shorthe time the richest men that euer passed this way. I doe see you are but fewe in number, but yet such men of haughtie courage, that no force or strength of Indians can offende. Likewise wee haue experiance, that Christ our sauour hath alwayes fauoured our nation in these parties. Therefore my déere friends, let vs now in Gods name depart ioyfull, expecting god successe, according to our beginning. &c.

The entrance of Cortez into the  
Island of Acusamill.

With the aforesayd communication, Cortez gaue great hope to his company of waigh-ty matters, yea and great admiration of his person, so that all his company had an earnest desire to procede on that iorney. And Cortez likewise reioyced, to see his men so willing: and incontinente, they imbarqued themselves, and after their prayers made vnto God, hoysed vp their sayles, and with faire winde departed the eight-enth day of Februarie Anno 1519. And being at Sea, he willed all his nanie (as the vse is) to haue S. Peter for their



their patrone, warning them alwayes to follow the Admirall (wherin he went) bycause he carried a light for the night season to guide them the way, whiche was almost East and West from *S. Anthonies* point, being the next part of *Cuba* to *Cape de Corocha*, which is the first land point of *Yucatan*, whither they were bounde, so y being there, they might run along the coast, betwene the South point and the West. The first night y *Hernando Cortez* began to passe over the gulf betweene *Cuba* & *Yucatan*, being little above 12 leagues, the winde rose by at South-east with much force, so y all the shippes were separated without sight y one of the other: yet by the accompt that their Pilots kept, they arrived all saving one at the Ilande of *Acusamil*, although not at one time, and those that last arrived, wer the Admirall, and Captayne *Morla* his ship, who had lost his Ruther, but by shooting off a peece, *Cortez* understood his necessitie, and came verting to him, and arrayned his sailes to succour him, being in y night season. Yet when the day appeared, it pleased God y the rage of the tempest ceased, & being clere day, they found agayne their Ruther, and trimmed the ship, and made saile, and sayled that day and the next following, without sight of land, or any of the shippes. But the third day they arrived at a cape or point of land, called *Alomens* cape. *Cortez* commanded *Morla* to follow him, directing his course to seeke the residue of his shippes, and arrived in this sorte at the Ilande of *Acusamil*, and there found all his name excepte one, whereof they heard no newes in many dayes after. The people of that Ilande beholding suche a strange sight, were in great feare and admiration, so that they gathered their stuffe and wente by into the Mountaynes. *Cortez* caused a certayne number of his men to goe a land to a towne which was nere the place where they were arrived, and they found the towne wrought with spacions worke, and good building, but they founde no creature therein.

The feare  
of the In-  
dians of A-  
cusamil.

therein, yet in some houses they found cloth made of cottē wolle, and certaine Jewels of gold. Also they entred into a high tower made of stoneworke, nere the sea side, and there they founde nothing but Idols of earth and stone. With this newes they returned to *Cortez*, and enformed him what they had scene, and also many faire lowe fields of Maize, and great store of hiues of Bees, and many trees of fruites, and also presented unto him the gold and other things that they had found. *Cortez* reioyced with y newes, but yet marvelled that the people were fledde, considering that when *Gryalna* was there, they had not so done, where by he iudged, that his naue being greater, caused them to feare and flie, and likewise he feared least a snare were prepared for him. Then he commanded to unship his shippes for thre causes: the one to discover the Countrey: and the other to fight if neede were: and also to graze the, having there abundance. Also he unshipped his men of warre, and sent them to discover the land. And in the thickest of the Mountaynes, they found four women, and thre children, whom they brought to *Cortez*, so that not understanding their language, by signes & tokens they ymagined that one of the was the mother to the children, & mistresse to the other women. The poore creatures bewayled they captivitie. *Cortez* made much of them, & apparrelled the mistresse as wel as he might with Spanishe attire: and to his servants he gave looking glasses and siffers: and to the little children other toys to play withall, being no dishonestie towards the. And the he determined to send one of the wenches to call his maister, and to enforme him how well they were intreated. In this meane season came certaine spies lurking a farre off, by the commandement of their Lord, who was called *Calachuni*, to bring newes of his wife, & what else passed. *Cortez* receyved them getly, & gave unto them certayne trifles, and sent others to their Lord, and returned the w embassage on his behalfe & his

How the  
people  
were found

C. y.

wiues,



wiues, to desire hym to come vnto him, and to see those folke from whome he had fledde. promising, that neyther his person, nor none of his countrey should receyue any molestation of him, nor of any of his company. *Calachuni* vnderstanding this friendshippe, and also with the loue hee bare to his wife and childre, came the next day following with all the *Townesmen*, in whose houses & *Spanyards* were lodged, who would not permitte that their guests should giue place. And the *Lozde* commaunded, that they should be wel entertayned, and fro that day forward prouided them of bread, fishe, honey, & fruite. *Calachuni* spake and saluted *Cortez* with greate humilitie and ceremonie, and euen so was belouingly receyued, & wel entertained. *Cortez* did then declare vnto him the commoditie that would ensue vnto him by that nation. And also presented vnto him & his company many toyes, which were vnto the of small valewe, but muche esteemed among them, yea moze than golde. And mozeouer *Cortez* commaunded, that all the golde and other things that his men had taken in the *Towne*, shoulde be broughte befoze him, and placed it so, that euery *Indian* knewe his owne, and was restoyred vnto them, whereat they were not a little ioyfull, wondering at the liberalitie of the straungers, and departed both merrie and riche with their straunge gistes, and went throughout al the *Iland*, shewing to their fellows their presentes, commaunding them in the name of *Calachuni* their *Lozd*, to returne euery man to his house, with their wiues and children, commending highly the honest and gentle nature of the straungers. With this newes and commaundemente, euery man returned to his house and *Towne* from whence he had fledde. And after thys sort their feare was past, and they prouided the *Camp* abundantly of honey, bread, ware, fishe, and frute, all the tyme that they abode in that *Iland*.

A faine  
worthy of  
praise.

The

The Indians of *Acusamil* gaue newes  
to *Cortez* of certaine bearded men.



Now *Cortez* seeing these *Indians* quiet and wel pleased, and also very seruiceable, he did determyne to take away their *Idols*, and to giue them a remembraunce of *Iesu Christ* borne of the *Virgin Mary*, by one *Melchior* a fisher man and very rustical, who had bin ther befoze with *Francisco Hernandez de Cordova*, who declared vnto them, that *Cortez* his *Lozd* and captaine would enforme them of a better god, and better lawes, than those which they maintained. The *Indians* answered, that they were contented therewith, and went with them vnto their temples, and there brake downe their *Idols*, and celebrated diuine seruice, teaching them to adoze and worshipping *Christ* crucified, so that they were verie attentive to the doctrine, and ceased sacrifice of men which they were wont to vse. These *Indians* did wonder much at the shippes and horses, yea and marueyled as muche at our colour and bearded, so that many times they would come and seele them, and signified vnto them by signes and tokens towardes *Tucatan*, that there were fise or sixe bearded men. When *Cortez* considering how profitable it wold be to haue an interpreter to vnderstand and to be vnderstood, he besought *Calachuni* that he would appoint a messenger to carrie a letter to the bearded men, who were in the power of a great *Lozd* and *Tyzzant*, and *Calachuni* found none that durst take that iourney in hand, fearing that they shoulde be slaine and eaten. *Cortez* seeing this, entreated with faire words, three of the *Indians* that serued him to accept the iourney, and gaue the rewards for their labour: yet the *Indians* excused them, saying that

Newes of  
bearded men.

C. li.

they

they should be slayne, notwithstanding with faire promises and rewards, they accepted the voyage, so that Cortez wrote with them this letter following.

**W**orthyshipful Sirs, I departed from *Cuba* with cleuen saile in my fleet, furnished with five hundred and fiftie Spaniards, and I arrived here at *Acusamil* from whence I write you this letter. The people of this *Flad* haue certified me, that there is in that countrey five or six bearded men, and in all pointes like vnto vs: they can not here enforce me of anye other signes or tokens, but hereby I do coniecture, and certainly belue that ye be Spaniards. Both I and these gentlemen of my company do come to discover and inhabit this land, we hartly pray you y<sup>e</sup> within five days after the receite hereof, ye come vnto vs, w<sup>o</sup>ut any excuse or delay, and if ye so doe, al we of this house will gratifye your gentlenesse & good seruice y<sup>e</sup> ye shal do vnto vs. I do send you a *Mergantyn* wherein you may come, & two shippes for your safeconduct.

*Hernando Cortez.*

**T**his letter being written, there was found an inconvenience, which was, they knew not how to carrie the letter so secretly y<sup>e</sup> it might not be sene, & they taken for espies, wherof the saide *Indians* stode in great feare. The *Cortez* bethought him, y<sup>e</sup> the letter wold passe wrapped in y<sup>e</sup> haire of the head of one of the, for ordinarily the *Indians* wear long haire, & on their solemn feasts & in wars they vse their haire platted & bound about their forheads. And he appointed captaine of the *Mergantine* wherein y<sup>e</sup> messengers w<sup>o</sup>lt, *Iohn de Escalante*, & *James de Ordaz* for captaine of the other two shippes, with fiftie men if any neede should happen. So shortly after the shippes arrived at the place appointed, *Escalante* set a land his messengers, and abode there right days they returne, although he promised the to abide there but five dayes. And the seeing that they

they came not, he surmised y<sup>e</sup> they were either slaine or taken captiues: & so returned backe againe to *Acusamil* without his messengers, wherof al the army were sorrowful, & chafely *Cortez*, thinking that the *Indians* had wronged him. So in this meane season they trimmed their shippes of the hurte receiued by the late tempest, & at the returne of the two shippes and *Mergantyn*, they boyled up sailes and departed.

A miraculous chaunce howe *Geronimo de*

*Aguilao* came to *Cortez*.



*Alachuni* and all his subiectes were full of beaunesse (as it seemed) with the departure of the *Christians*, because they were wel vsed at their handes. From *Acusamil* the fleet sayled to get the coast of *Tucatan* to the cape called *Womens point*, with prosperous weather, & there *Cortez* came to an Anker, desirous to see the disposition of the land, and the manner of the people: but it liked him not, so that y<sup>e</sup> next day following being shrouet with fog, he departed, meaning to double the sayde cape, and so to passe to *Cotoche* and to biewe it. But before they hadde doubled the point, *Peter de Aluaredo* shotte off a peece, in token that hee was in great peril, whereupon the other shippes drelve neare to knowe what hadde happened: And when *Cortez* vnderstode that *Aluaredos* shippe was in so great a leake that with two pumpe they mighte not emptie the water, he found no other remedy but to returne backe againe to *Acusamil* with al his fleet. The *Indians* of y<sup>e</sup> *Flande* came incontinent to y<sup>e</sup> water side very sayfull, and to knowe whether they had left any thing behind the. The *Christians* enforced the of their mishap, and came a shor, & in short time found the leake & amended it. The waterday following they toke shipping againe, al the army excepte

*Hernando*

*Hernando Cortez*, and fiftie of his company, then the wind arose contrary, and so much, that they could not departe that day: & the furie of the winde endured al that night, but in the morning it waxed calme, so that they myght proceede on their voyage. But for as much as that was the Sabbath daye, they determined to heare diuine service, and after dinner to make saile. When their service was ended, and *Cortez* sitting at his meate, there was newes brought him that a little vessell called a *Canoe*, came vnder saile toward the shippes, whiche seemed to come from *Tucatan*: with that newes *Cortez* arose from his meate, to behold whether the *Canoe* went, and perceiuyng that she left the way toward the shippes, he sente *Andres de Tapia* with certaine others, as secrete & closely as might be deuised, to lye in ambuſhe for their comming a shoare. The *Canoe* arrived in a calme place, out of the which came foure men all naked, except their priuie members, and the heare of their heades platted and bound aboute their foreheades like vnto women, with bowes and arrowes in their hands: three of them which were *Indians*, wer afraide when they saw the Spaniards with their drawen swordes, and would haue fled againe to their *Canoe*, but the *Christian* feared not, and desired his fellowes in the *Indian* tong to abide with hym. And then he began to speake in the Spanishe tongue in thys wise: Masters are ye *Christians*, yea (quoth they) and of the Spanishe nation. Then he reioyced so much, that the teares fell from his eyes, and demaunded of them what day it was, although he had a *Diuer* wherein he dayly prayed.

He then besought them earnestlye to assist him with these prayers & thanksgiuings vnto god for his deliuerie, & kneeling deuoutly downe vpon his knees, holding vp his handes, his eyes toward heauen, and his face bathed with

with teares, made his humble prayer vnto God, giuing most hartie thanks, that it hadde pleased hym to deliuer him out of the power of Infidels and infernal creatures. and to place hym among *Christians* and men of his owne nation. *Andres de Tapia* holpe hym vpp, and toke hym in hys armes, and so did al y others embrace & lovingly salute him. Then he commaunded the other three *Indians* to follow him, and went talking wyth hys friendes, where *Cortez* abode, who receyued him ioyfully, and gaue vnto hym such apparel as he needed, and wyth great pleasure hauing him in his companie, hee demaunded the estate of his misfortune, and what was hys name, who answered before them al, saying, Sir my name is *Geronimo de Aguilar*, I was borne in the Citie of *Esja* in the *Anduloxia*, and by misfortune I was losse after this sorte. In the warres of *Darien* and in the time of the contentions and passions of *James de Nicuesa*, and *Vasco Nunez Balboa*, I came with Captaine *Valdinia* in a little Caruell, toward *Santo Domingo*, to giue aduice to the Admirall and gouernour, of the troubles which had happned, and my comming was for men and victuals: and likewise we brought twentye thousand Duckettes of the kings in Anno. 1511. And when we appoynted at *Iamayca*, our Caruel was lost on the shallowes whiche were called the *Alipars*, and with greates pain we entred (about twenty persons) into the boate, w<sup>th</sup> out sayle, water or bread, and weake prouision of qares: we thus wander thirtene or fourtene dayes, and then the currant, whiche is there very great & runneth alway weastward, cast vs a shoare in a prouince called *Maja*, & traveling on our way, seauen of our fellowes died wyth hunger & samyn. And captain *Valdinia* & other 4. were sacrificed to the ydols by a cruel and cursed *Cacike*, that is to say, a Lord in whose power we fell. &c.

The coming  
of Aguilar  
to Cortez.

F.

And

And after the sacrifice, they were eaten among the *Indians* for a solemne banquet: and I, and other six were put into a Cage or coupe, to be satined for another sacrifice. And for to escape suche abhominable death, we brake the prison and fledde through certaine mountaines: So that it pleased God that wee mette with another *Cazike* who was enemy to him that first toke vs, his name was *Quingus*, a man of moze reason and better condition, hee was Lord of *Xamansana*: he accepted vs for his captiues, but shortly after he dyed, and then I aboad with *Taxmar* his heire. Then deceased other five of our fellowes, so that there remayned but onely I and one *Gonsalo Guerrer*, a maryner, who now abyde with *Nachacan* the Lorde of *Chetamal*, and he married with a rich gentlewoman of that countrey, by whom he hath children, and is made a Captaine, and wel esteemed with the *Cazike* for the victories he hath had in the wars against the other Lorde. I sent vnto him your worships letter, desiring him that he would come with me hauing so fit a passage, but he refused my request, I belicue for verie shame, because hee had his nose full boared of holes, & his eares tagged, his face & handes painted according to the vse of that countrey, or else he abode there for the loue he bare to his wife and children. All those which stode by & heard this Historie, were amased, to heare *Gerónimo de Aguilar* report howe those *Indians* did sacrifice & eate mans flesh. They also lamented the miserie & death of his fellowes, and highly prayed God, to see him free frō his bondage & from such cruel & barbarous people, & to haue likewise so good an interpreter with the, for vndoubtedly it seemed a miracle. The *Aluarcados* ship fel into a leak, for with extremity they returned back again to that Iland, wheras with contrarie winde they were constrained to abide & chynning of *Aguilar*. And certainly he was the mean & speech of all their proceedings.

proceedings. And therefore haue I bin so polorious in the rehearsal of this matter, as a notable point of this historie. Also I wil not let to tell how the mother of *Gerónimo de Aguilar*, became mad. &c.

When she heard her son was captiue among people used to eate mans flesh, & euer after when she saw any flesh spitted or roasted, she would make an open outcrie, saying, oh I miserable woman, behold this is the flesh of my dearebeloued sonne who was all my comfort.

### The Iland of Acusamil.



The *Indians* naturall of that countrey do call their Ilande *Acusamil*, & corruptlye *Cosumel*. *John de Grijalua* was the first Spaniard that appoynted there, and named it the holy Roode, because hee fell in sight thereof on holy roode daye. It containeth ten leagues in length & thre leagues in breadth, although some say moze, some lesse: it standeth twentye degrees on this side the equator, and fixe leagues from the women's cape: it hath thre villages, in the which lieth nere thousand men. The houses are of stone and brick, and couered with straw & bowes, & some with tile. Their temples and towers are made of lime & stone very wel built: they haue no other fresh water but out of welles and raine water. *Calachuni* is their chiefe Lord: they are browne people & goe naked: if any weare cloth, it is made of cotten wool only to couer their priuie members: they vse long heare plated & bound about their foreheads: they are great fishermen, so fish is their chiefe food & sustenance, they haue also Maize which is for bread: also good fruites: & hony, but somewhat soure: and plots for bees, which containe 1000 houses. They knew not to what vse wax serued, but when they saw our men make candles thereof, they woozed therat.

Their dogges haue fore faces and barke not, these they gelde and fatten to eate. This Island is ful of high mountains, & at the feete of them, good pastures, many Deere, and wilde Boares, Connyes and Hares, but they are not great. The Spaniards with their handguns and crossbowes prouide them of that victual, fresh salt and dyed. The people of this Island are Idolaters, they doe sacrifice children, but not manye. And many times in stead of children they sacrifice dogges. They are poore people, but very charitable and louing in their false religion and beliese.

### The religion of the people of

*Acusamil.*



A strange  
Idol.

The temple is like vnto a square Courte broad at the foote, & steps round about it, & from y<sup>e</sup> middest vppward very straight: the top is hollow & couered with straw: it hath foure windowes with frontals and galleries. In y<sup>e</sup> holow place is their chappel, wheras their Idols do stand. The temple that stode by the sea side was such a one, in the which was a maruellous strange Idol, and differed muche from all the rest, although they haue manye and of diuerse fashions. The body of this Idol was great and hollow, and was fastened in that wall with lime: hee was of earth. And behinde this Idols backe was the Altar, where was kept ornaments & other things of seruice for y<sup>e</sup> temple. The priests had a little secret doze hard adioyning to y<sup>e</sup> Idol, by which doze they crept into y<sup>e</sup> hollow Idol, and answered the people y<sup>e</sup> came with prayers & petitions. And w<sup>th</sup> this deceit y<sup>e</sup> simple soules belued al y<sup>e</sup> the Idol spake, & honored y<sup>e</sup> god moze thā at the rest w<sup>th</sup> many perfumes & sweets

sweete smells, and offered bread and fruite, with sacrifice of Quayles bloud, and other birds, and dogges, and sometime mans bloud. And through the same of this Idol and Oracle, many Pilgrimes came to *Acusamil* from many places. At the foote of this Temple was a plotte like a Churchyard, well walled and garnished with proper pinacles, in the middest whereof stode a Crosse of ten foote long, the which they adored for God of the rayne, for at all times whē they wanted rayne, they would goe thither on Procession deuoutely, and offered to the Crosse Quayles sacrificed, for to appeale the wrath that the God seemed to haue agaynst them: and none was so acceptable a sacrifice, as the bloud of that little birde. They vsed to burne certaine sweete gūme, to perfume that God withall, and to besprinkle it with water, and this done, they belued assuredly to haue rayne. Suche is the Religion of those Indians of *Acusamil*. They could neuer knowe the original how that God of Crosse came amongst them, for in all those parties of India, there is no memorie of anye preaching of the Gospel that had bin at any time, as shall be shewed in another place.

The God  
of rayne.

### The Battell and vwinning of

*Potanchan.*



*Cortez* proceeded with his flete very ioyfull, because he had found one of his Ships which hee thought had bin lost, & apoynted at the riuer *de Grijalua*, whiche in the Indian tong is called *Tauasco*, and anckred at the riuers mouth, fearing to enter in with the bigger vessels ouer the barre: and incontinent came manye Indians to gaze at them and theyr Shippes, who were armed with feathers, and suche lyke armour as they vse, seeming a farre off trimme fellows. They

*ff. 14.*

They wondered not muche to see oure Shyppes and menne, bycause they hadde sene befoze *John de Grijalua* in the same Riuer. The behauiour of that people, and scituation of the Countrey, liked *Cortez* verpe well, so that leauyng sufficiente garde in hys Shyppes, he manned hys *Mergantynes* and Boates, and carried with hym certayne pieces of Ordnance, and with force of oares he entred the Riuer agaynst the streame, whiche was verpe greate, and haunyng rowen little moze than halfe a league, they espyed a greate Towne walled wth Timber, and the houses made of mudwall, covered with strawe. The Towne wall was verpe strong, with lope holes to offende withall. And befoze oure menne came nere the Towne, they mette with manye little Boates, whiche the *Indians* call *Tahucup*, full of armed menne, shewyng themselves desirous of battayle. *Cortez* proceeded forwarde, and made vnto them signes of peace, declaring vnto them by his interpreter, that hys comyng thither was not to molest or disquiet them, but onely to take freshe water, and to buy victuals, as menne that trauelled by Sea, and stode in neede thereof, promysing good paymente for anye thing that they shoulde take. The *Indians* hearyng theyr request, promised to shewe theyr message to the Townesmen, and woulde also retorne with theyr aunswere and vittayles, and so departed. In shorte space they returned agayne, and broughte bread and frutte, and eyght *Turkie Cockes*, and presented it franchely vnto them. *Cortez* gaue them thanks, but (quoth he) the prouision that ye haue brought, is very little, for the neede that I and so manye persons which I haue within ponder greate besels locked and shutte vp, therefore I pray you to bring me moze vittayles, or else to permitte and suffer mee and my folkes to come vnto youre Towne to seeke oure remedie.

politic.

remedie.

The *Indians* demaunded one nyghtes space to doe the one and the other, and departed towarde the towne. *Cortez* also went to a little Island that standeth in the riuer, to abide their aunswere, so that eache pretended to deceyue the other, for the *Indians* demaunded that time, to the intent to carrie that night away theyr godes, and to put in safetie their wines and children in the Mountaynes, and likewise to gather their men of warre to defende theyr Towne. *Cortez* also commaunded his *Harcabushiers* and *Crossebowmen* to goe a lande vppon the Islande, and caused the Riuer vppwardes to be soughte for way, to wade ouer, so that these thyngs were done that nyghte without anye knowledg to the contrarie syde. And all those whiche abode aborde the Shyppes, came vnto *Cortez*, and those who wente to seeke the passage, founde within lesse than halfe a league vppwardes, a place that was of depth to the girdle of a manne. And likewise founde suche couerte of wooddes, that they myghte come nere vnto the Towne, and not to be sene.

Diligence  
of a good  
Captayne.

Thys newes lyked well *Cortez*, wherevppon he appointed two Captaynes, whose names were *Alonso de Auila*, and *Peter de Aluado*, and to eache of them fiftie menne. The same nyghte he sente certayne *Souldyers* wth a sea compasse, to lye in ambushe in the woodde whiche stode betwene the riuer and the towne, for two considerations. The one, bycause the *Indians* shoulde see, that there were no moe Spanyarden in the Islande, than were the daye befoze. And the other was, that hys menne hearing their watchword, shoulde assaulte the towne on the land side. And as sone as the day appeared, came eight boates of *Indians* armed, wher as oure Campe was pitched, who broughte a little

ff. iij.

victuall,



viuall, saying they could get no more, because that the inhabitantes of the Towne were fledde, with feare of them, and their deformed vessels, desiring them to returne aboꝛde their Shippes, and not to disquiet the people of that Countrey. The interpreter answered, that it was against humanitie to suffer them to perishe wyth hunger, yea and if they would heare the cause of theyꝝ comming, they should shortly see what profite would rebound vnto them. The *Indians* replied, that they would take no counsell of straungers and menne whome they knewe not. Lykelwise, they thoughte not good to lodge suche guesstes in their houses, for they seemed terrible, and such as would be commaunders. But if they would needes haue water, they mighte take riuier water, or else make welles on the shore, for so dyd they at theyꝝ neede.

Then *Cortez* sayng that wordes preuailed not, he signified vnto them that he would enter their Towne by force, to see it and their Countrey, for to giue thereof relation to the greatest Prince in the worlde, who hadde sent them thither: requesting them to be therewith contented, considering he meante not to disquiet them: and if they would not permitte the same, he would commend himselfe to his God, and to the strength and force of his men. The *Indians* answered agayne, that they should depart, and not thus bragge in other mens land, for in no wise they would permitte them to enter their Towne. And if with this warning they would not departe, they meante to kyl both him and as many as were with him. Yet *Cortez* ceased not to vse all humanitie with those barbarous people, according to the commaundements and instructions giuen vnto him by the King of *Castill*, whiche was, to require those people oftentimes with peace, before the attempting of warre, or entring perforce into their Townes and Countrey, so that yet agayne

gayne he consulted them with peace, promising them libertie with good entertainment, assuring them of things profitable both for body and soule, and that they myghto accompt themselves happie with the knowledge thereof: but if now they would refuse his offer, he did then warne them to make them ready for the euening, for before the going downe of the Sunne, he did hope with the help of his God, to rest and take vp his lodging in the Towne, in despite of all the inhabitants thereof, who had refused his offer.

The *Indians* laughed at his talke, and skozning at him, they returned to the Towne, to enforme their fellowes of the pride and madnesse that they thought they hadde hearde. When the Spanyarden wente to dinner, and hauing well refreshed themselves, they putte on their Armour, and went aboꝛde their Boates and Mercantines, looking for some aunswere from the *Indians*, and sayng the Sunne decline apace, and no aunswere, *Cortez* aduised the Spanyarden that lay in ambushe in the wodde, to giue assault, and he imbarqued himselfe with his rapier and Targette, gyuyng likewise assaulte with nere two hundred men, who comming nere the Towne walles, discharged his Ordnance, and lept into the water to the knees, and began valiantly to assault the walles and bulwarkes. The *Indians* sayng their enemies so nigh vnto them, beganne to fight with courage, shooting arrowes, throwing of dartes and stones, wherewith they hurte about twenty Spanyarden: yea, and though the fearefull noise of the Ordnance did many times so annoy them, being things so strange, and neuer before seene of them, yet they fledde not from the walles, but resisted the Christians valiantly, and suffered them not to enter the Towne that way, if they had not bin assaulted in another place. But when the Company that lay in ambushe

hearde the shooting of their fellows, they began likewise theyr on sette. The *Indians* knowyng nothyng what was prepared behynde theyr backs, and hauing also theyr handes full in defending the entrance by the Riuer: and the *Christians* syndyng that parte of the Towne without resistance, entred in wyth a terrible noyse, killing as many as they mette. Then the Towneshemen vnderstode theyr ouersyghte, and woulde haue remedyed it, and fledde from the place where *Cortez* was gyuing combat, whereby *Cortez* and hys Company entred the Towne at ease, without contradiction, so that hee and the other Companie of his Souldyers mette together at the Markette place, and expulsed all the *Indians* out of the Towne, excepte those that were taken prisoners, and the carcases of the deade. Then the *Christians* soughte the spoyle, and founde nothyng but Turkie Hennes, and some thyngs wrought of Cotton wolle, but verie little Golde.

There was that daye aboue foure thousande *Indians* in syghte and defence of the Towne: Where was much *Indian* bloud shedde, bycause they fought naked, many were wounded, and fewe Captiue. *Cortez* lodged himselfe wyth hys armie in the chiefest Temple of the *Idolles*, where was roome sufficiente. They kepte that nyghte good watche, as in a house of enemies, but the poore *Indians* durst not once interrupte them. After this sorte was *Potonchan* taken, beeyng the fyrste Cytie that *Cortez* wanne by force in all hys Conquest.

The

## The Battell of Cintla.



**A**t y<sup>e</sup> nighte *Cortez* slept not, but rather occupied himselfe in carrying the wounded men, & other stuffe aboard y<sup>e</sup> Shypps, & also to disembarke thirtene Hoyses, & the residue of his men y<sup>e</sup> he had left aboard, y<sup>e</sup> which he brought to passe before the sunne rising, although the *Tuascans* had notice thereof. Whē the sunne was risen, he had wyth his company made vnto God their prayers, and mustered his men, where were at that time in Campe nere fūe hundred Spanyarde, thirtene Hoyses, and fīre pēces of ordinance: These Hoyses were the fyrste that euer came into that Countrey, whych now is called new Spayne. He planted his men and munition in good order, and thus marched forwarde toward *Cintla*. The *Indians* seeyng this preparation, began also to make readie, and to place in good order fortie thousand men in fūe companies: their meeting was in ploughed lande among manye deepe lakes and pōdes, very dangerous to passe, so that our men by reason thereof were brought out of order. And *Hernando Cortez* wyth his horsemen wente to seeke a better passage, and to enclose himselfe among certayne trees on their left hand, for to set vpon the enemies when time should serue. The footemen proceeded on, and passed many marishe groundes, vntill they came to the tilled land. The *Indians* were expert in those places wher they beganne the battayle, shooting wyth their bowes and slings, and throwyng of dartes. And although our men did some hurt among them wyth their Crossebowes, hand gunnes, and Ordinance, whē they were in place to shote, yet the *Indians* pursued our men so thicke, that they could not put them off, for by pollicie, the *Indians* of *Potonchan* hadde soughte out that place: and it is to bee thoughte that

One of a  
good Ship  
layed.

Fortye  
thousande  
Indians.

G. y.



Perill of  
the Chri-  
stians.

Miracle.

that they were not barbarous, nor of small understanding in warres, yet notwithstanding with much payne, our men gate out of that place, and obtained another somewhat better, and more playner ground, whereas they myghte vse their Ordnance, and fyghte with their weapons bodye to bodye. But the *Indians* being so greate a number, dyaue our men to so narrowe a place, that they were fayne to ioyne backe to backe for theyr owne defence, yea & for all that were in marvellous greate daunger, for they hadde no roome to vse their Ordnance, nor yet Hozsemen to make them waye. They being in thys perplexitie, and readie to fye, suddenly appeared a Hozseman with a speckled Hozse, whome they iudged to be Captayne *Morla*, whych Hozsemanne sette vpon the *Indians*, and made them retyre: and hauyng more space than before, they sette afresh vpon the enemies, and slewe some of them. In thys meane tyme the Hozsemanne vaded away, and was not scene, and with hys absence the *Indians* became afresh, and enclosed the *Christians* in the same daunger that they were in before: then the Hozsemanne appeared agayne nere our menne, and made marvellous way among the enemies, wherevpon our menne seeing this succour, gaue the onset agayne with great courage, and slewe and hurt many *Indians*, but at the best season, the Hozseman vanished away cleane out of sighte, and when the *Indians* sawe not the Hozseman, with feare of whome they fledde, thinking that he hadde bin a Centaure, and that the Hozse and man was all one incorporate, they returned agayne with liuely courage, and vsed our *Christians* worse than they hadde done before. When the Hozseman returned the third time, and putte the *Indians* to flight with great hurte, whom our souldiers pursued with great slaughter:

Howe

Now at this instant came Cortez with all his company of hozsemen, being wearied with the trauaile in passing such strange lakes and wildernesse, wherof the countrey is replenished. Our men being ioyful of his coming, they began to enforme him what wonders they had sene a hozseman do, which came to succour them, demanding of him which of their company it was. Cortez answered and faithfully assured them, that it was none of their company, bicause it was not possible for any of them to come any sooner: Then they all gaue God praise, believing that it was a helpe sent from heauen. Cortez said (my deare fellows) forwarde, for god is with vs. Then the hozseman set vpon the *Indians*, and with force of lance droue them out of the marshy ground, and brake their mayne battel. The *Indians* incontinent left the field, and fled into the thicke woodden, the souldiers followed them, and slue above thre hundred *Indians*, besides many other that were hurt. There wer aboute seauenty Spaniards wounded with arrowes and stones.

A sodaine  
disease

And whether it were with labour of the battel, or with excessive heate, or with drinking the water of that place, there fel such a stich in their loynes, that about a hundred of them fel flat vpon the ground, not able to go nor stand, their fellows being forced to carry the on their backs, But it pleased god that the same night the payne wente from them, being in the morning wel againe. Who seeing themselves deliuered from so many perils, gaue most humble thanks to the almightye god that had miraculously deliuered them. They all agreed that thre times they had sene the strange hozseman, with the speckled hozse, fight in their fauour, as is aforesaid, believing generally it was a miracle, as certainly it did appeare, for the *Christians* did not alone see this thing, but also the *Indians*, byd muche note it, for the marvellous fiercenesse

C. 14.

wherewith

where with he came vpon them, with such great murder, that they were amased, and almoste blynde with hys bryghtnesse, being so trodden vnder hys fete. The captiue *Indians* after the battayle declared the circumstance therof.

The Lord Tauasco submitteth  
himselfe to the *Christians*.



*C*ortez released some of hys prisoners and sent them to their Lorde, saying that it grieved him the hurt done on both parties, but the fault was theirs. And that god was witnesse of hys innocencie and also of hys curtesie offered vnto the. But notwithstanding all that was passe, he pardoned

their errour with suche condition, That if in continuant or within two dayes, they Lorde would come vnto him, to yelde satisfaction of their malice and Stubbornesse, and to treat of peace and friendship, warning and aduising them, that if they came not wthin the time appointed, hee would enter into his countrey, burning and spoiling with slaughter both great & smal, armed and vnarmed: with which message the messengers departed, and *Cortez* returned to the towns to cure his wounded men. The next day came fiftie ancient *Indians* to craue pardon for their offence, and also licence to bury the dead, with likewise safeconduct that their rulers and p[ri]ncipal persons myght safely come vnto

The Cazi-  
like embas-  
sadours.

vnto the towne. *Cortez* graunted their request, warning them to make any lyes or yet to conspire againe: and also if their lordes came not personally, he would not heare any more embassado[rs]: with this rigorous comādemēt & protestation they departed. These *Indians* feeling their strength would not preuaile, thinking the *christians* to be inuincible, their Lorde and chiefest persons did determine to goe and visite the *christians* and their captaine. And according to the time appointed, the Lorde of that town and other foure Lorde his neyghbours came vnto *Cortez* with a good trayne of their vassals and scrutours, and presented vnto him, bread, turkie hennies, & frutes, with other like prouision for his host, with four hundred peeces of gold of y<sup>e</sup> value of 400. double duckets, w<sup>th</sup> other small Jewels, and certaine turkie stones of small value. And twentie women slaues, to serue to make breade and dresse meate for y<sup>e</sup> whole army. He craued and beseeched *Cortez* to pardon his former offence. And to accept and receiue them into hys friendship. And in token of his obedience, hee and his fellows dyd willingly deliuer their bodies, landes and goods into his handes and power. *Cortez* did louingly receiue them, and gaue vnto them certaine trifles of his wares, whiche they esteemed much. And those *Indians* hearing the horses and mares ney, they marvelled at their neying, thinking that the horses could speake, & demanded of the *Christians* what they sayd, (marry quoth they) these horses are sore offended with you because ye forcht with them, & wold haue you corrected and chastened for your so doing. The simple *Indians* hearing this, presented roses and Gynea Hens vnto the horses, desiring them to eate and to pardon the.

Certaine

Certaine questions that Cortez de-  
maunded of the Cacike Tausco.



Any things passed betwene our men & the Indians: for where the Indians vnder- stood the not, their behaviour was much to laugh at. And vsing conuersation with our men, & seeing they received no hurt of them, they brought to the towne their wines and children, which were no small number. And among many matters that Cortez communed with Tausco by the mouth of Ieronimo de Aguila his enterpreter:

The first question was: Whether there wer mynes of gold or siluer in that countrey, and from whence they had that small quantitie that they hadde broughte vnto them?

The second question was: Why they denyed him their friendshippe, more than the other captaine that had bin there the yeare before?

The third was: Why they being so many in nūber, fled from them being so fewe?

The fourth was: To giue the to vnderstand the mighty power of the king of Castill. And last of all to giue them knowledge of the faith of Iesu Christ.

The an-  
swere of  
the Cacike.

As touching Sir (quoth he) the mynes of gold and siluer in our country, we seeke for none, for we seeke not after treasure and riches, but we procure and desire a quiet life. And that golde whiche we haue, was founde by chaunce: for we know not what mynes do mean. Yet notwithstanding further within the lande, whereas the sunne doth hide himselfe, ther the people do finde muche gold and are giuen to seeke the same.

And

And as touching the captaine that was here of late, we seeing the men and shippes to be such as we had neuer before seene, spake vnto them and demaunded what they would haue, they sayde that their coming was, to chaunge their merchandice for gold and nothyng else, wherfore we graunted to their request. But now seeing greater vessels and more in number, wee feared least ye came to take our substance. And I knowing my selfe nothing inferiour to any of my neyghbours, would not permit any iniurie to be offered me, and that he and his subiectes did esteeme themselves the most valiant of men of warre in all these parties, and that none durste take away their gods, women, and children, to be sacrificed by force, whereupon he thought to withstande those fewe Christians, but (quoth he) I founde my selfe deceiued, seeing we could not kill any of your companye. And likewise the brightnesse of youre weapons dyd blynde vs, and the woundes you made were incurable.

But the noyse and lightning of your ordinance dyd more amaze vs, than either thunder-clappes or tempest: and also the great spyle that you made among vs therewith: likewise your straunge horses made vs greatly to wonder, to behold their open mouthes, wee feared to be swallowed. And then to consider their swiftnesse in running, we knew no creature could escape them. But y first horse that fought with vs, put vs in marueylous feare, being but one, but when we espyed many, then all oure helpe was past, for we belieued that the horse and man was al one incorporate.

Th.

How

## How the Indians of Potonchan brake

downe their Idols, and worshipped Christ crucified.



With the relation of *Tamasc Cortez* saue that the countrey was not for Spaniards, nor yet he toke it a thing conueniente to settle themselves where no golde nor siluer was, or other riches. And so pretended to passe forwarde to discover westward the lande endewed with golde. But before his departure, he declared to those new conquered *Indians*, that the Lord in whose name he and his company had taken that iourney was king of Spayne and Emperour of Christians, and the greatest Prince in the worlde, vnto whom many kings and Princes dyd homage and obey. And that his rule and gouernemente in iustice proceeded from God, being iust, holy, peaceable, and sweete, and also the Monarchie of the vniuersall did appertaine vnto him. And for these causes he required them to yelde themselves as his subiectes. And if they would doe so, there shoulde ensue vnto them great profite, lawes and pollicie. And as touching their religion, he declared their blindnesse & greates abuses which they vsed in worshipping many Gods, and in making sacrifice vnto them with mannes blood, yea & thinking that those images and Idols, did or coulde doe good or euill vnto them, being dūbe, without life or soules, yea and of worke of their owne hands. He certified them of one god maker of heauen and earth, and all creatures whom the Christians did worshippinge and serue, and that

all

all creatures ought to doe the same. In conclusion with this doctrine they brake downe their Idols, and receyued the crosse, *Cortez* hauing first declared vnto them the great miseries that the son of God suffered on y<sup>e</sup> Crosse for mankynde. And in the greatest temple of *Potonchan*, set vp a Crosse in remembrance of the death of Christ and celebrated the feast vpon their knees, and the multitude of *Indians* likewise, and departed to their meate. *Cortez* desired them within two dayes to come agayne to their diuine seruice. And that day was Palme Sunday. And so they did and brought an infinite number of men women and children of other villages with them whych was straunge to behold. And there generally gaue theyr vassallship to the king of Spaine into the handes of *Hernando Cortez*, with protestation of perpetuall friendship with the Spanish nation. So that these were the fyrste vassals that the Emperour had in the new Spayne. And this feast and ceremony ended, our men toke shipping with the palme boughes in their handes. In this doyng *Cortez* deserved no lesse prayse than in his victorie, for he vsed wisdom with manhode in all his doings: he left those *Indians* with a newe faith, and the towne free and without hurt, he toke none for slaues, nor yet any spoyle nor exchanged his merchandise for any thing although he abode there twenty dayes. The towne is called in the Indian tongue *Potonchan*, that is to saye, a place that stincketh, and our menne named it, the victorie.

The Lord (as ye haue heard) was called *Tamasco*, and therefore the first Spaniards that came thither, named the river *Tamasco*, but *Grijalua* called it after his owne name, whose name and remembrance will not so sone be forgotten. And truly all those that do discover

p. g.

new


newe countreys, ought to make perpetuall their owne names. This towne both containe neare fve and twenty thousand houses (as some say) but as every house standeth by himselfe like an Island, it seemeth much bigger than it is in dede. The houses are great, made of lime stone, & brick: others there are made of mud wal, and rafters & covered with straw or bords. Their dwelling is in the upper part of the house, for the greates moystnesse of the rivers and lakes, and for feare of fier, they haue theyr houses separated the one from the other. Without, the towne they haue more fairer houses than wythin for their recreation and pleasure. They are browne people, and go almost naked, and eat mans flesh sacrificed. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, spyngs, darts, and lances. The armour wherewith they defend themselves, are Targets and skulles made of worrde or barke of trees, and some of gold very thynne. They haue also a certayne kinde of harneis made of cotten wolle wrapped aboute their stomacke.

The armor  
of the Indi-  
ans, /

## The good entertainment that

Cortez had in saint John de  
Elbua.



 Aptaine Cortez and his company beeyng embarked, sayled weastwards as npe the shoar as thei might. And this coast hauing no harborz , they founde no place where they might Anker safely with their greater vessels, until they arriued vpon Spandie thursday at Saint Iohn de Vlhua, whiche seemed a good harbor for them. The Indians of this place call this harbour Chalchia socca, there the flecto came to Anker . They were not so sone at Roade, but incontinente came two little

little boates named *Scalles*, enquiring for the Generall  
of the flecte, who when they came to hys presence,  
byd humble reuerence vnto him, and sayde vnto hym  
that *Tendills* the Gouvernoure of that Province sente to  
knowe what people they were, and what they woulde  
haue, and whether they meante to stay there or pro-  
ceede farther. *Aguillar* byd not well vnderstande that  
language. *Cortez* caused them to come aboarde hys  
Shyppe, gyuyng them thanks for theyr paynes and  
uisitacion. Hæ made vnto them a banket of *Wylne* and  
*Conserua*, and sayde vnto them, that the nexte day fol-  
lowyng hæ woulde come alande, and talke with the  
Gouvernoure, whome hæ besoughte not to alter him nor  
hys people wyth hys commyng a shore, for he meant not  
to molest hym, but rather to pleasure and profyite hym.  
So that these messengers were rewarded wyth cer-  
tayne gyftes, they eat and dranke, but yet suspected  
euill, although they lyked the *Wylne* well, wherefore  
they desired to haue thereof, and also of the *Conserua*,  
to presente vnto theyr Lorde, whyche was giuen them,  
and so departed.

The next day being good Friday, Cortez came alande wpth his Boates full of menne, and broughte his Horses and artillerie a shoze by little and little, wpth all his menne of warre, and two hundred Indians of Cuba, whiche serued to toyle and labour. He planted hymselfe in the best scituation that he coude fynde among the Sandy bankes on the Sea syde, and there pytched his Campe, and hauing nere that place manye trees, they builde them Cotages with boughes.

*From a little Village that was at hand, came many Indians to gaze at things so strange, and the like newce came unto them, and brought with thē gold to barter for*

suche toys, as the two little Boates had brought from them before. They brought also bread and meate ready dressed after their use likewise to sell. Dure men chaunged wth them beades of glasse, looking glasses, silfers, knives, pinnes, and suche other wares, whereof the *Indians* were not a little glad, returning home to their houses, shewing their neighbours. The ioy and pleasure that these simple soules took with these trifles, was so greate, that the next day they came agayne wth other *Indians* laden with Jewels of gold, Turkie Hennes, bread, meate, and fruite, that sufficed for all the Campe, and for the same they receyved nedels, and beades of glasse, but the poore soules thought themselves there with so riche, that they knewe not where they were with ioy and pleasure, yea and they thought that they hadde deceyved the *Strangers*. Nowe Cortez seeing the greate quantitie of golde brought and bartered so foolishly for trifles of no value, proclaimed throughout all his host, that no Christian shoulde take any golde vpon greate penaltie, and that they shoulde all shewe, as though they knewe not to what purpose the golde served, and that they passed not for it, because they shoulde not thynke that the desire thereof had brought them thither, and so they did dissemble that great demonstration of golde, to see what was meante thereby, and whether the *Indians* hadde brought that golde, to proue whether they commyng was for that or no. On Easter day in the morning, came *Tendilli* the Governour to the Campe, from *Cerro* his dwelling place, whiche was eyght leagues from thence. He brought attending vpon his person foure thousande men without weapon, and the most part well clothed, some of them with garments of Cotton, riche after their manner. And others naked, laden with viuals in great abundance, whiche was

V Vile-  
dome.

The coming  
of the  
Governor.

was straunge to see. *Tendilli* according to their vsance, did his reuerence to the Captaine, burning frankincense, and little straws touched in bloud of his owne bodye, he presented vnto him the viuals, and certayne Jewels of golde very riche and well wrought, and other things made of feathers very curious straunge and artificiall. Cortez embraced him in his armes, and receyved hym ioyfully, saluting all his company. He gaue to *Tendilli* a coate of silke, a byrche, and a collar of glasse, with many other peeces of Haberdashe wares, whiche was highly esteemed of him.

A strange  
salutation.

### The talke of Cortez vwith *Tendilli*.



In the former talke was had without an Interpreter, because *Ieronimo de Aguillar* vnderstode not this language, because it differed muche from the speche of the other *Indians*, where as he hadde bin captiue: for whiche cause Cortez was somewhat carefull, because he would largely haue discoursed with *Tendilli*. It chanced that among those twentie women giuen hym in *Potonchan*, one of them stode talking with a seruante of *Tendilli*, because she vnderstode them as menne of hir owne language. Cortez espying this, called hir aside, and promised hir more than libertie, so that she woulde bee a fruitie and faithfull interpreter betwixte hym and those *Indians*, and that he woulde esteeme hir as his secretarie. And further demanded of hir of what lignage she was, then she answered, that she was naturall of the Countrey that bordered vpon *Xalisco*, and of a towne called

A marvellous  
happy.

D. liij.

called



called *Pilote*, daughter vnto riche parentes, and of the kinrede of the Lord of that lande. And beeyng a little girle, certayne Merchantes dyd steale hir away in tyme of waire, and brought hir to be solde at the sayre of *Xicalanco*, whiche is a greate Towne nere *Coasacualco*, not farre distant from *Tauasco*: and after this sorte shee came to the power of the Lord of *Potonchan*. This woman was Christened *Marina*. She and hir fellowes were the firste Christians baptised in all the newe Spayne, and she onely with *Aguilar*, were Interpreters betwixt the *Indians* and our men.

Nowe *Cortez* beeyng assured of hys true Interpreters, hee celebrated hys accustomed deuine seruice, and *Tendilli* wyth hym, and after they hadde dined in *Cortez* hys Tente in presence of many Spanyardes and *Indians*, *Cortez* enformed *Tendilli* howe that hee was vassall to the Lord *Charles* of *Austria* Emperour of the Christians, and King of Spayne, and Lord ouer a greate parte of the worlde, whome great Kings and Princes dyd serue and obey: and that all Princes were glad to be hys friendes for his Vertue and myghte. And hee hauyng aduertisemente of that Countrey and Lord thereof, had sente him thither to visite hym on hys behalfe, and to enforme hym of certayne secrete matters, the effecte whercof he hadde in wytyng. Sir (quoth *Tendilli*.) I am very glad to heare the Maiestie and Vertue of the Emperoure youre maister, but you shall vnderstande, that my Lord the Emperoure *Melzuma* is as greate and as good a Prince as he. And I doe muche maruell, that there shoulde be anye so greate a Prince in the whole worlde, but yet according to youre request, I wyll certifie hym, and knowe hys pleasure, for I trust (quoth he) in the clemencie of my Prince, that youre newes and message shall be acceptable vnto him, and

The aun-  
syvere of  
*Tendilli*.

and you well recompensed for your paynes. *Cortez* then commaunded al his men to set themselves in order of battayle with pife and drumme, and to skirmishe before *Tendilli*. And that the horsemen shoulde runne, and the ordinaunce shotte of, to the entent that *Mutezuma* shoulde be aduertised thereof. The *Indians* did much beholde the gesture, apparell and beardes of our men, they wondered to see the horses runne, they feared the brightnesse of the swordes, and at the noyse of the ordinaunce they fell flatte to the ground, thinking that the heauens did fall. And the shippes, they held opinion was the God of the ayre called *Quezalcoatl*, whiche came with the temples on his backe, for they dayly looked for him. *Tendilli* dispatched the poste to *Mexico*, to *Mutezuma*, aduising him of all that he had seene, and demaunded golde of him for to giue vnto the Captayne of that newe people. Bicause *Cortez* had inquired of him, whether *Mutezuma* had gold or no, he answered (yes) many quoth *Cortez*, I and my fellowes haue a certayne discafe of the harte, and golde helpeth vs. This message wente from the campe to *Mexico* in one day and a night, whiche is 210 myle, and the poste caried paynted the horses and horsemen vpon them, the maner of theyr armour, and howe many peces of ordinaunce they had, & what number of bearded men there were: and as for the shippes he had giue aduise as sone as they arrined, shewing the greatnesse and quantitie of them. All these things aforesayde, *Tendilli* caused to be paynted in cloth of Cotton very liuely, that *Mutezuma* mought see it. The cause that this message wente so farre in so shorte a space, was, they had certayne places that postes attended, as we may say horsepostes which gaue alwayes from hand to hande the paynted cloth: they doe runne on fote faster in this sorte, then by horsepost, and is more of antiquitie than horsepost. Also *Tendilli* sent to *Mutezuma* the garments & many

The discafe  
of the Spa-  
niardes.

other things whiche *Cortez* had giuen him, whiche things were after wardes founde in the treasorie of *Mutezuma*.

### The present and ansvwere that

*Mutezuma* sente vnto *Cortez*.



After the message sente, and the answere promised, *Tendilli* took his leaue, and within two flight shote of *Cortez* his campe, he caused a thousande cotages of boughes to be made, & lefte there two principall men as Captaynes ouer two thousande persons men and women, and then departed for *Cotozaco* his dwelling place. The two Captaynes had charge to prouide the Chyistians of all things necessarie, and the women serued to grynde their corne and make bread of *Mai*, and to dresse theyr fishe and flesh and other victuals, and the men serued to carrie the dressed meate to the Chyistians campe, and wood, water, & grasse for the horses and al other necessities, and this they passed eight dayes. In this meane season returned the poste with a riche and gentle present, whiche was many conerlets and clothes of cotton, white, and of other colours wrought, many tusses of feathers very fayre, and some things wrought with golde and feathers, quantitie of Jewels and peces of golde and siluer, two thynne wheeles, the one of siluer whiche wayde .25. markes with the signe of the spone, and the other wheele of golde which wayde a hundredth markes, made like vnto the Sonne, with many leaues and beafts, a very curious peece of worke: these two things they helde for Gods in that countrey, & giueth the the colours of the metall that is liketh the, every wheele was two yardes & a half broade, and so proportionally in compasse round aboute, this present was esteemed at 20000. Ducates. This present shold

haye

haye bene giuen to *Grijalua*, if he had not so sone departed as the *Indians* reported. He also gaue vnto *Cortez* this answere, that *Mutezuma* his Lorde was very glabbe to know, & to be friend to such a mighty Prince as the king of Spayne was, and that in his time should arrive in his countrey such new people, & the like neuer scene before, & that he was readie to shew them al pleasure & honour, requesting him to see what things he stood in neede of for the time that he meant to abide there, as well for himselfe as for his ships, army and beccasse, and it should be prouided abundantly: yea & also if he could finde any thing in that countrey to his contentment, to present to the Emperour of Chyistians, he would willingly prouide it. And as touching the desire that *Cortez* had to come to visite & to haue communication with him, he thought it impossible, bycause that he was sickly and could not come vnto the sea coast, and likewise for *Cortez* to come where he did abide, it was harde, troublesome and difficill, as well for the many and cragged mountaynes, as also the countrey, wilde, desert & without habitation, and shoulde be constrained to suffer hunger, thirst, and other necessitie: and moreover the inhabitants of much part of the way that he should passe, were his enemies, both cruell & cursed people, and knowing the to be his friends, they should not escape with life.

All these excuses did *Mutezuma* by the mouth of *Tendilli* declare vnto *Cortez*, thinking to diuie him fro his purpose & pretended iourney, alleaging the foresayd difficulties and perils, the *Indians* did also hope that with some contrary weather they should be forced to leaue that coast & countrey. Notwithstanding this contradiction, so much the more desire had *Cortez* to visite *Mutezuma*, who was so great a prince in that parties, & thoroughly to discover the treasure which he imagined to be there. And hauing receiued the present, & also the answer, he gaue vnto *Tendilli* a garnet of his

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alone

The excuse of  
*Mutezuma*



alone wearyng, and many other trifles of his Haberdash, to be sente vnto *Mutezuma*, saying that if it were for no other purpose but onely to see so mightie and vertuous a Prince, it should be requisite and iuste to trauayle vnto his Court, how much the more, he was of ductie constrained to doe the Embassage which the Emperour of Christians had willed and commaunded him to doe, for otherwise he shoulde incurre the displeasure of the King his mayster, wherefore he besought *Tendilli* yet once agayne to aduertise *Mutezuma* of his constant determination, because hee shoulde vnderstande that he would not leaue off his pretended purpose for any inconuenience that was objected vnto him. Alleagynge moreouer, that he who had comen 2000. leagues by sea, mought well goe 70. leagues by lande, and considering that he had many at his charge with small prouision, and likewise his shippes in danger, he required that with all expedition the messengers should be dispatched. *Tendilli* desired him to recreate himself, & not to take any grief, for as much as he himself did dayly aduertise *Mutezuma* of his proceedings, euen so with all expedition the full resolution should come from *Mexico*, although it were somewhat farre off. And as for his victuals, he shoulde take no care, for abundantly he should be prouided. And also desired him for so much as he was not well placed among those sandy bankes, that it might please him, to goe with him to certayne townes aboute fye or seuen leagues fro thence. *Cortez* refused that offer, whereupon *Tendilli* departed, and he abode there ten dayes looking for answer from *Mutezuma*.

How

How Cortez knew of discorde and  
dissention to be in the Countrey.



In this meane season certayne Indians were espied, that went lurking a farre off among the sandy hilles. And those came not neare the Indians, that serued the Spaniards, *Cortez* demaunded what people they were, & for what cause they went lurking so farre off, and came no narer vnto them.

The two Captaynes answered, that they were husbandmen, that went aboute theyr husbandry. *Cortez* liked not theyr answer, but suspected that they had tolde hym a lye: for it seemed vnto hym that those people desired to come among the Christians, and that they durste not with feare the Indians of *Tendilli*, and so it was in very deede. For all that coaste and mayne lande within as farre as *Mexico*, was full of the newes and straunge things that our men had done in *Potomchan*. Wherefore they all desired to see them and to talke with them, but they durste not for feare of the Indians of *Culhua*, who are subiectes vnto *Mutezuma*, whereupon *Cortez* sente fye Spaniards to call them with signes and tokens of peace. This company of Indians were in number twentic, and were gladd to beholde those fye men commynge towarde them, and were desirous to see suche straunge people and shippes, wherefore they came willingly althogither vnto *Cortez* his Tente.

These Indians dyd differ muche from all the other Indians yet seene, for they were hygher of person, and had the gryffels of theyr noses slitte, hangyng ouer their mouths, and rings of Vette and Amber hanging thereat. They had also theyr neither lippes bozed, and in the holes rings of golde and turky stones, whiche wayde so muche,

that

The Indians  
astyre.

that their lippes hanged downe ouer theyr chins, and their teeth remaind bare: The whiche custome although they vsed for a beaury, it seemed a foule and ugly sighte in the Spanyardes eyes, and very lothsome.

The other *Indians* of *Mutezuma*, had theyr lippes and eares bozed, with rounde stones hangyng at the iaggess thereof, yet they had not suche foule sittes in their noses, but they had suche bozed holes that a manne myght put any finger of his hande throughe them, with rings of golde and stone hanging thereat, the cuill fauoured sighte of theyr faces made our men to muse.

*Cortez* communed with them by his interpreter *Marina*, to knowe from whence they were, they answered, that they were dwellers in *Zempoallan*, a Cittie distant from thence one dayes iourney, situated vpon a riuer side, and bordered vpon the Countrey of *Mutezumazin*, and that their *Cazique* or Lorde had sente them, to see what Goddes were comen in those *Teucallis*, that is to say, Temple, saying, also that they durste not come sooner, not knowyng what people they were.

*Cortez* made muche of them and shewed a cherefull countenance vnto them, for they seemed very bestiall, he declared vnto them that he was gladd of theyr comyng, and to knowe the good will that theyr Lorde bare vnto him, and gaue them *Haberdashe* toys, and shewed them the Horses and Armour, a straunge sighte for them. And so they wente throughe the army lookyng and gassing here and there as menne amazed. And in all the tyme they abode there, they vsed no conuersation with the other *Indians*. *Cortez* enquired of *Marina* the cause thereof, and she sayde that those menne did not onely speake an other language, but also did appertayne to another Lorde, who was not bassall to *Mutezuma*, but by force and extorcion.

*Cortez*

*Cortez* was very gladd of that newes, for hee conceived by the talke of *Tendilli* that *Mutezuma* had warres and enemies, wherevpon hee tooke aside thre of those *Indians* whiche seemed moste wysest, and demanded of them by *Marina* what Lordes there were in that Countrey: they answered that *Mutezuma* was Lorde ouer all, although in euery Cittie and Province was a Lorde, yet neuerthelesse all in generall byd paye tribute and serue him as bassals, nay rather lyke slaues. But yet many of them of late dayes did reknowledge hym by force of armes, and payde vnto him suche tolle and tribute that they were not accustomed to pay, of whiche number their Lorde of *Zempoallan* was one of them, and other his neyghbours, who many tymes helde him warre to be free from his tyranny and bondage, but yet sayde they, it preuailed not, for his hoste was greate and his warriers valiant.

*Cortez* receyued greate pleasure to finde in that countrey dissention and discorde among some Noble menne, and at deuision among themselues, thynking thereby the better to byng his purpose to passe. He gaue thanks vnto those *Indians* for their aduise, offeryng vnto them his fauour, helpe and friendshippe, praying them to come often to his campe, and so tooke his leaue of them, with his commendations to their Lorde, and sente him certayne presents, with aduertisement, that shortly he would come and see him, yea and also serue him.

Hovv

Hovv Cortez vvent to suruey the  
Countrey with foure hundred men.



**A**t the ende of tenne dayes came *Tendilli* backe againe, and brought certaine cloth of Cotton, and other things made of sea-things well wrought for recompence of the thing sente vnto *Mexico*. And warned *Cortez* to departe, for at that tyme there was no remedie to see *Mutezuma*, and to looke what was necessary for his prouision and furniture, and it shoulde be prouided, offering the same seruice at any time that hee shoulde happen to come that way. *Cortez* would not accept the offer, saying: That he would not departe from that countrey, vntill he had bothe seene and talked with *Mutezuma*. The gouernour *Tendilli* yet agayne replied, that he shoulde not contende therein, and with those wordes departed from hym. The nexte night following he with all those *Indians* as well men as women whiche attended to serue and prouide the Spanishe campe, wente from thence: so that in the morning all the cotages were emptye, where those seruitors had bene.

*Cortez* suspecting this alteration prouided himselfe with preparation for battayle, & finding the matter contrary to his expectation, he deliberated to seeke a sure roade or harbor for his nauie, & also a good plotte or situation to buylde vpon, for then he fully meant to obtayne perpetuities to conquire the lande, considering y he had found such great tokens of gold, plate, & other riches, & there aboute within a whole league compasse was no fit place for y purpose: for why: all was sandy ground, & such as tossed to & fro with the winde, with other moorish ground not meete for habitation. In consideration wherof he sent *Francisco de Monteio*, with two bergantines, and fiftie men, to runne along the coast,

coast, vntill they should finde some reasonable poart and good situation to build vpon.

*Monteio* proceeded on his voyage, and sayled in sighte of lande, vntill he came to *Panuco*, withoute finding anye port or harbor, sauing the shadowe of a Roke, whiche stode somewhat distant from the land a sea word, so that at thre weekes ende he returned backe agayne with the sayde newes. Hauing runne so little a way, he fell into suche terrible currants, that although he made waye wyth oares and sayles, yet the sayde Currant forced hym backe agayne. Also he broughte newes, that the *Indians* of that coast did let themselues bloud, offering the same vnto them vpon little strawes, in token of friendship or deitie.

The relation of *Monteio* contented not *Cortez*, yet notwithstanding he pretended to goe to the shade or succoure of the Roke, bycause hee was enformed, that nere that place, was two sayre Riuers, wyth store of wooddes, necessarye for tymber and fyre woodde, greate quantitie of stones to builde with, sayre pastures, and ground for tyllage, although the harbour was not sufficiente for hys shauie and contratation, bycause that roade was without defence, and open vpon the North, which is the winde that most ruleth with greatest hurte vpon that coast.

And also considering that *Tendilli* and hys menne were departed, fearing also the want of victuals, and likewise, that hys Shyppes myghte perishe vpon the shore, he commaunded to lade aboarde all theyr stiffe, and hee wyth foure hundred menne, and all his Horses, followed on the hygh way that the *Indians* hadde gone.

After hee hadde tourneyed thre leagues, hee came to a sayre badeable Riuer, and passing ouer the Riuer, hee  
founde

found a towne not inhabited, for the inhabitantes thereof were fledde with feare: he entred into a great house, which seemed the place of the Lorde of the Towne, built with timber and earthen walles, the foundation whereof was rayfed with handie worke, about a fadome high: the roofe was couered with strawe, but of a fayre & strange workemanshippe inwarde, with many greate pertitions, some full of pottes of honey, and Maiz, with other grayne whiche they keepe in store all the yeare: other rooms had cloth of Cotten wool, wrought with feathers, golde and siluer.

Cortez commaunded Proclamation to be made, that none of his company shoulde take any thyng away, vpon payne of deathe (onely victuals excepted) to the intent to obtayne the good will and friendship among the Indians.

There was in that Village a Temple, whiche hadde a little Tower with a Chappell on the toppe, and twentie steppes to come vnto the Chappell, where they found some Idolles, and many bloudy papers, and much mans bloud of those which hadde bin sacrificed, as Marina dyd certifie.

They found also the blocke wherevpon they used to cutte open the menne sacrificed, and the razors made of Flint, wherewith they opened their breaſtes, and plucked out their heartes beeyng aliue, throwing them vpper toward Heauen as an offering, and after this done, they annoynted their Idolles, and the papers they offered, and then burned them.

This sight put a great compassion, yea and a feare among our Spanyards, who did beholde these things. From this Village they went to other thre or foure, and found none aboue two hundred houses, and all without people, yet well provided with victuall, as the first towne was.

Cortez

Cortez returned from thence to discharge his Shippes, and to take order to sende for moe men: and with desire to beginne habitation, in these affaires he occupied hym selfe tenne dayes.

### Hovv Cortez rendred vp his charge and office with pollicie.



Then Cortez was come where his Ships were, and the residue of his company, he began this talke, saying:

How my louing friends and fellows, ye doe see what greate mercy God hath shewed vnto vs, in bringing vs safe and in health to so good and riche a Countrey, as by manifest signes and tokens we haue alreadye seene, yea and holwe plentifull of meate, inhabited of people, better clothed, and of moze iudgement and reason, than the others whiche ye haue seene, since your first comming: also better buildings, fieldes of grayne and cozne: yea and it is to be thought, that the things not yet seene, doe surmount all that hitherto ye haue playnely seene. Wherefore we ought to giue most hartie thanks vnto God, and to beginne oure habitation here, whereas we shall enioy the grace and mercy of God. And to byyng this matter to passe, me thinke best that we abide here, vntill we may finde a better port or scituation. Also that we make a wall or Castell for oure defence, if neede shoulde happen, for the people of this land hath little ioy of our comming and abiding here.

It was then considered that fro that place they might the sooner haue friendship and contriuation with the Indians and Townes nexte adioyning, as Zempoalan, and others whiche were enimies to Mutezuma, and beeyng in this order once placed, they myghte

A. Y.

discharge

discharge their Shyppes, and sende them incontinent to *Cuba*, *Santo Domingo*, *Jamayca*, *Borriquen*, and other *Ilandes*, or else to *spayne* for more men, armour and *Horses*, and for clothing and victuals.

Moreover, it was thought iust and mete, to sende relation of all their proceedings to the Emperoure theyr King and maister, with the demonstration of golde, syluer, and other riches, which they had in their power.

And bycause all these things should be done in good order, *Cortez* determined as Captayne generall, to appoint a Counsell, Aldermen, and Judges.

And also ordeyne all other offices that shoulde be necessary and needefull to rule and gouerne a Citie, whych he then pretended to edifie and erect, the whiche Magistrates should fully commaund, vntill such time that the Emperour should other wise prouide in matters conuenient for his seruice.

After this diligence put in bre, he solemnely toke possession of all y land, in the name of the Emperour *Charles* King of *Castill*, with all the actes and ceremonies, as to such a matter apperteyned. And demaunded of *Francisco Fernandez* notarie appoynted, that he shoulde gyue vnto him by testimonie in wryting, all the actes done therein. All his company answered, that they did very well allowe hys proceedings and praysed, and also approued hys determination, beseeching hym to procede accordingly, sithence they were come to serue and obey hym. Then *Cortez* named Judges, Aldermen, Attorney, Serfeant, Notary, and Towneclecke, and all other officers apperteyning to the good gouernement of a Citie, in the name and behalfe of the Emperoure hys naturall Lord, and deliuered incontinent to the Judges white roddes to beare in their handes in token of Justice, and named the newe Citie to be builde. The ryche Towne

*De la*

*De la Vera Cruz*, bycause that one goodfriday they had entred into that land. After these things finished, *Cortez* began befoze y saide Notary, another act in presence of the iudges, who were *Alonso Fernandez Portocarrero*, and *Francisco de Monteio*, in whose handes he made cession, and dyd desyst from all rule and offices whiche heretofore he had receiued, which was his gouernership, captaineship and general discouerer, receiued in the Chauncerie of *Santo Domingo*, at the handes of the presidentes, who were there chiefe of the kings counsell, and presidents, likewise he protested not to vse the power and auctoritie of the gouernour of *Cuba*, Admirall of *India*, for so much y now none of them had any rule or gouernement in that Countrey which he and his fellows had newly discouered, and begun to enbabit in the name of the king of *Castil*, as his naturall subiectes. The which auctoritie he likewise required to be set downe in recoorde, and to haue a copie of the same.

### Hovv the souldiours chose Cortez for Captaine generall, and chiefe ruler in Justice.



At the newe officers toke possession and charge of their offices, and entred into the towne house to counsel according to the vse and custome of *Castill*. In the which congregation or counsel then holden, many matters were had in question as touching the good gouernemente of the common weale. And among many other things, they all agreed to electe *Hernando Cortez* for captaine generall and chiefe Justice, and to giue vnto him full power and authoritie

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for

A good  
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for all matters appertaining to the wars and conquest, until such time as the Emperour should otherwise provide: with this determination the next day following all the Aldermen, Judges, and Counsellors, went unto *Cortez*, and sayde unto him: Sir we haue greate neede of a guide and captaine for the warres to procede vpon the conquest of this countrey, wherfore until such time as the Emperour shall provide therein, they all besought hym to accepte that office and charge, approuing him a man most fit for the same, both to rule and gouerne, for his great experience that they had seene of his courage, wisdom, and pollicie, and by Vertue of their offices, did commaund him to accept the same, saying, that in so doing, God and the King shoulde bee faithfully serued. And they would thankfully gratify the same, knowing that at his hands they should be ruled with iustice, vled with humility, & be preserved with diligence and strength. And for that purpose, they had chosen him for that office, giuing vnto him their full & whole authoritie, submitting themselves vnder his hands, iurisdiction & defence. *Cortez* accepted his charge at small entreating, for he desired nothing so much.

And being in this sort elected general, the counsel said vnto him. Sir you do wel vnderstand, that until such time as we shall bee better planted in this countrey, we haue not wherewith to maintaine our selues but only w<sup>th</sup> suche things as are aboard our shippes. Wherfore it may please you to commaund it to be brought ashore, and that you take therof what shall seme good vnto you, for your household and familie, and the residue may be tared at a reasonable price, and so to be deuised among them: & for payment they wold all binde themselves, or else if presently it should be deducted out of the Stocke, after that the Kings part were subtracted. Likewise they desired him to value his ships and artillery, because they would make like

like payment for the same, and that from thence forthwards the ships should serue in common, for to passe to the Islands for bread, wine, clothes, weapons, horses, and other things which should be needful for the new towne and army, for thereby they might be better cheape provided than if merchants should provide them, considering alway they seek for excessive gain, saying that if it would please hym to accepte this offer and request, they would thankfully requite the same. *Cortez* answered, that at that time he made his preparation and furniture in *Cuba*, he ment not to sel his provision as others used to do, but he would and did frankly giue it vnto them, although hee had spent his goods and indetted himselfe therein. And incontinent he commaunded the maisters of the ships and purfers, to bring a load at their victual to the town house, requiring the Aldermen to deuise it equally, to euery man his part, without making any difference of him or of any other, for (quoth he) in time of neede of victuals I yongest hath as much allowance as the eldest. And although I am indetted and do owe more than seauen my Dockets, I giue this victuall all frankly vnto you. And as concerning the ships, I wil do that which shall be most convenient for you all. And (quoth he) I wil determine nothing to be done with these, but wil first giue you aduertisement of the same.

All this did *Cortez* for to get their loue and fauour, because there were many that loued hym not, although in very truth he was of his own nature liberal and large in experiences with all his souldiers in the warres.

Liberality

The

The receiuing of Cortez into  
Zempoallan.



As much as the situation there was not conuenient to place the newe worke, they determined to go from thence, to *Aguahuitlan*, which standeth nere the shadowe of the rocke that *Montes* had informed them of, whereupon Cortez commaunded the shippes to depart, for that place. And he with his foure hundred men and hoxses would goe by land, and there mete the, which may be about ten leagues iorney. In this order the flecte departed, and likewise Cortez with his company toward *Zempoallan* which stode directly weastward. And after he had iourneyed thre leagues he came to the river which deuided the Lordshippe of *Muteczuma* and *Zempoallan*, & coulde finde no passage, wherefoze he was forced to retorne to the seashore, where with muche adoe they passed ouer, and so tranayled on that side of the river, & found cotages of fishermen and other poore houses, and some sowed ground, and proceeding on their iorney at length they came into very faire balleys, wher was great store of beare, and til they went along the river side, hoping to finde some good towne, and in short space, they espied neare twenty persons vppon the toppe of a hill, Cortez commaunded foure of his hoxslemen to fetch them vnto him, willing the to make signes of peace vnto them, but if they fle (quoth he) then follow them, vntill you ouertake them, for they shall stand vs in steade, as wel to lead vs the way as to serue vs for enterpreters.

The

The hoxslemen toke on they way, and when they came to the hill toppe, they made signes of peace vnto them, but the poore and fearefull *Indians* fledde with speede, yea being amased and in great feare to beholde suche a monstrous thyng as a hoxsleman, beleuyng assuredly, that hoxse and man was one thing incorporate, but in they flight they were sone ouertaken, and they yelued themselves, and so were all brought vnto Cortez.

Simplicite.

These men had in they eares and noses bozed holes, with rings of golde hanging thereat, for so was the vse of *Zempoallan*, they enformed Cortez that the Cittie was neare at hande. Cortez demaunded the cause of their coming thither, they answered to behold and see so straunge a sight, but why fledde you then (quoth he?) for feare only. He sayde they, of people which we knew not. Then Cortez bidde them to put all feare aside, and tolde them that he with his small company would goe vnto their Cittie to visite their Lord, and to be acquainted with him: the *Indians* sayde, that the day was farre spent, and that it was late to goe that night to *Zempoallan*, but if it pleased hym they would conduct him to a village whiche stode on the other side of the River and within sight, and although it were but a small village, yet there was reasonable lodging with meate sufficient for his armie: their counsell seemed well, so they wente to that village, and when they were comen thither, the *Indians* craved licence to goe & to aduertise their Lord how the strangers abode in that place, promising to retorne the nexte day with answer. Some of the *Indians* had licence to do the message, the others abode there, attending and providing for the newe gesses, & in this order they were all lodged and their supper abundantly provided. That night Cortez fortified himselfe as strong as mought be, and the nexte morning came a hundred men laden with *Hennies*, saying that

Il.

they



their Lord much reioyced of their comming, and because he was so grosse and vnwealdie, he came not personallie vnto him, but yet notwithstanding he aboade in the cittie expecting his comming. Cortez friendly welcomed them, and with that presente, he and his company brake their faste, and then proceeded with his guides in good order with two fauonets in readinesse, if neede should happen: and from that passage of the riuer they had a faire way vntil they came to another riuer, which being likewise waded ouer, they discried *Zempoallan*, which stode a myle distant from them, all beset wth saye Orchards and Gardens, verie pleasaunte to beholde: they vled all wayes to water them with fluses when they pleased.

There proceeded out of the Towne many persons, to behold and receyue so strange a people vnto them. They came with smiling countenance, and presented vnto the diuers kinde of floures, and sundry frutes, which none of our menne had heretofore seene. These people came without feare among the Ordinance, with this pompe, triumph and ioy they were receiued into the Citie, which seemed a beautifull Garden: for the trees were so greene and high, that scarcely the houses appeared.

At the Citie gate stode many graue persons of nobilitie, as Magistrates of the Citie, who solemnely welcomed the Strangers. Sire Hoysment, which hadde gone befoze the army to discover, returned backe as Cortez was entring into the Citie, saying, that they had seene a great house and Court, and that the walles were garnished with siluer. Cortez commaunded them to procede on, willing them not to shew any token of wonder of any thing that they should see. All the Streets were replenished with people, which stode gaping and wondering at the hoyses and straungers. And passing through a great market place, they saw on their right hande, a great wal-

led house made of lyme and stone, with lonpe holes and towers, whited with playster that shined lyke siluer, being so well burnished and the sunne glistering vpon it. And that was the thing that the Spaniards thought had bene walles of siluer. I doe beleue that with the unagination and great desire whiche they had of golde and siluer, all that shined they deemed to be the same mettall.

Within this great house was a long row of lodgings, and on the other side sixe or seuen Towers one higher than another. They proceeded on, dissimulping the errour of the siluer walles, and followed their guide vntill suche time as they came to the Lordes lodging, who came forth accompanied with many auncient persons, and better attired than the other Citizens were, with two Gentlemen that ledde him by the armes. They saluted eche other according to the vse of their countreys, and then entred into the pallyce, where certayne principall men conducted Cortes and all his trayne to their lodgynge, and Captayne Cortes was lodged in the house whiche had the glistering walles, situated in the markette place, whiche house was sufficient for him and all his company. And when they were placed, and behelde the walles, they were ashamed of their owne folly: for where they thought those walles had bene adozned with siluer, they founde them cleane contrary. Cortes deuised his men, caused his hoyses to be trimmed, and planted his ordinance at his doze, making himselfe as strong as though he had bene in campe and nere his enimies. And commaunded, that none of his men should goe out of the house without his expresse licence vnder paine of death. The officers of the Worthe prepared a plenteous supper for them, and bedding according to their vse.

A vigilant  
Captayne.

Mens folly  
with a  
great lye.

The

The talke that the Lorde of Zempoallan had with Cortez.



The next day in the morning came the Lorde, to visite Cortez with an honorable company, and presented unto him many garments wrought of Cotton wolles, according to their fashion, with a knot on the shoulder like unto the Egyptian garments, and certaine jewels of golde that might be worth two thousande Ducates, beseeching both him and his company to recreate themselves and take their rest, and at that present he meant not to trouble him with any matters: And so took his leave for that time as he had done the day before, willing him to demaunde and call for any thing that he should neede. Cortez gaue him hartie thanks, and so departed.

Then came more Indians in number then were there Spaniards, with their courses & seruice of meate ready dressed, and many boughes of daintie fruits. In this sort they were feasted & banqueted sifterne daies most plentifully. The next day following, Cortez sent unto the Spaniards certaine olde garments of the Spanishe fashion, and many other trifles, beseeching him to appoynt a day of conference at his owne pallasce: wherby was sent agayne that he was ready and very well contented. Whereupon Cortez took with him fiftie of his men all armed, and left the residue at his lodging in a good readinesse, and appoynted an vnder Captaine to gouerne them. The Lorde hearing of his coming, came out of his Courte into the streete to receyue him. And hande in hand they entred together into a lowe hall, whiche they vse for the extremitie of heate in that countrey, the plotte that they buyde vpon is rayed a fadome from the grounde, so that they ascende vpon

upon steppes, and the walles plaistered with very white lime, their tile is eyther of straw or leaues of trees, very beautifull and straungely wrought, and a good defence against the rayne. The Lorde and Cortes satte them downe vpon thre footed stoles made all of one peece, the Lorde commaunded his seruitors to stande aside, and by their interpreters they began to common of their affayres a great space, in demaundes and answeres, because Cortes desired to be well instructed of the affayres of that countrey, and lykelike of that mightie kyng of *Mutezuma*.

This Cacike or Lorde although he were huge and laden with fleshe, yet in his demaundes and questions seemed very wise. The summe of all Cortes his talke was to shewe the cause of his coming thither, and who had sente him, euen as he had done in *Tabasco* to *Tendilli* and others.

This Cacike after he had heard Cortes attentively, he began a long communication, making his complaynt and opening his grieve in this sorte.

Mightie Sir, my Antecessors liued a long tyme in great peace, libertie and quietnesse, but of late yeres my countrey and Cittie was destroyed by tyranny, because the Lordes of *Mexico Tenuchtitlan* with their men of *Culhua* did not only vsurpe my Citie, but also my lands by force of armes, in suche sorte that my power coulde not resiste them. And in the beginning those Princes beganne theyr vsurpation by way and colour of religion and holinesse, and afterwarde with force of armes, and with this title became Lordes ouer vs.

And now we seying our errour, haue thought it to late to preuaile agaynst them to take away our yoke of seruitude and bondage, although we haue attempted it. And as often as we haue so done, still the victorie was theyrs, and the ouerthrowe ours. Nowe all suche as doe

L.ij.

submitte

The Indian  
complaynt.

Vnder colour of  
holinesse.

submitte themselves vnto them, are taxed with certayne tributes, and reknowleging them for Lordes, are defended by them, and esteemed as friends. But if after such submission made, any chaunce to speake agaynst them, or rebell, then they are terribly corrected, yea murdered, and after Sacrifice made to the Goddes of warre, called *Tezcatlipuca* and *Viracopuchels* of theyr carthasses, then is theyr flesh eaten in banquet, and those who remaine alpye, doe serue for slaues, yea and the fathers, mothers and Children, are compelled to labour and toyle from the Sunne rising to the Sunne setting, with confiscation of all theyr goodes and landes. And besides all this crueltie and vituperie, they sende theyr officers and Sericantes to execute the premises, who without eyther pittie or mercie many tymes suffereth them to sterue with hunger. And being thus cruelly punished of *Mutezuma*, who nowe raigneth in *Mexico*, who would not suffe to bee Masall willingly to so good a Prince as you enformed me of the Emperour, although it were but onely to bee free from suche vexation and robbery whiche suche a mighty King coulde doe. And with these wordes the teares gushed out of his eyes, and pawling a while, he beganne to extoll the strength, magnificence and situation of *Mexico* planted in a greate lake of water: also he exalted the riches, courtesie, Maiestie and mightie power of *Mutezuma*, He sayde also howe *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco* and other prouinces thereabout, as also the people called *Totonaguez* of the Mountaynes were of contrary opinion to the *Mexicans*, yea enemies vnto them, who had intelligence what had happened in *Tlaxasco*, Yea sir (quoth he) if it please you, I will treat suche a compact with this people that *Mutezuma* with al his power shall not preuaile agaynst vs.

*Cortes* reioyced in harte to heare this newes, and sayde

sayde vnto him. It grieueth mee to heare of the euill vsage of *Mutezuma* towards his countrey and subiectes. But I assure you with Gods helpe I will deliuer you, yea and reuenge all your iniuries, for my coming hither is to take away all euill customes, and to helpe the oppressed, to fauour the prisoner, and comforte the afflicted, and chiefly to abolishe tyrannie. And for the good entertaynement that I haue receyued at your handes, I doe remaine yours to doe you any pleasure, and to defende you agaynst your enemies, and the lyke will I doe for your friends, wherfore I pray you aduertise them thereof as many as are of our confederacie.

*Cortes* then tooke hys leaue, saying that he had bene many dayes there, and that he had greate neede to goe visite his shippes and menne, who muche desired his returne, and abode in *Aquahuitlan*, where hee meante to sojourne for a certayne season, and from thence daily they mighte conferre of their affayres. The Lorde of *Zempoallan* sayde, that if it pleased hym to abyde with him hee would gladly accept it, and if his businesse were suche that he might not, that then he besought him to remember him.

When the Lorde commaunded eyght maydens to be called, who were very well apparelled after theyr manner, theyr attyre was muche lyke the *Morisca* fashion, (the one of them was more costely apparelled than the others) and sayde vnto *Cortes*, all these maydens whiche you here see are Gentlewomen, noble and riche, and this mayden whiche is beste attired, is a Lady of *Tlaxcala*, and my brothers daughter, I doe presente hyr vnto you (meaning that *Cortes* shoulde marrie with hyr) and the others you may bestow vpon the Gentlemen in your company, in a token of perpetuall love and friendship. *Cortes* receyued the presente with thanks, bycause he would

An other  
g. lre.

woulde not offende the giuer thereof. And so departed with their women ridyng behinde them, with many *Indian* women to wayte vpon them, and many *Indian* men to beare them company, and to puruey all things necessarye.

### Things that happened to Cortez in *Chiauiztlan*.

**T**He same day that they departed fro *Zempoallan* they came to *Chiauiztlan*, and yet the shippes were not arrived. Cortes marvelled at their long taryng in so shORTE a tourney, there was a village within shotte of a hargabushe from the rocke called *Chiauiztlan* standyng vpon a litle hill. Cortes hauing little to do, went thither with his men, and the *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, who certified Cortes that the village was appertayning to a Lorde oppressed by *Mutezuma*. They came to the foote of the hill, without sighte of any man of the towne, excepte two, that *Marina* vnderstode not, and going vp the hill, the horsen men to fauour their horses would alight, bicause the ascending was cragged and euill way. Cortes commaunded that they shoulde not alight, bycause the *Indians* shoulde thinke that there was no place highe nor lowe, but that these horses shoulde and coulde come vnto it. So by litle and litle they came into the towne, and finding no creature there, they feared some decepte, yett appoehyng further, they mette with twelue auncient men, whiche brought with them an interpreter who vnderstode the language of *Culhua* and the speache of that place, whiche is the language of the *Tolonaques*, or inhabitantes of the Mountaynes. These auncient menne declared that the cause of theyr goyng out of the

the towne, was bycause that they had neuer sene anye such men as the *Spaniards* were, nor yet heard that any such had passed that way, wherefore with feare they had fledde from thence. But (quoth they) when the Lord of *Zempoallan* aduertised vs, how you did hurt no Lorde, but rather being a people good and peaceable, then wee were well assured who ye were, when we saw you come toward vs. And wee are nowe comen vnto you on the behalfe of the Lorde, to bring you to your lodging.

Cortez gaue them thanks, and went with them to a certaine place where the Lord was abydyng their comming wel accompanied: he shewed vnto the *Christians* great good wil, and marvelled to see those straungers with their long beardes.

The Lord toke a litle chafynge pipe in his hande, and cast into it a certaine gumme, which sauoured in sweet smel much like vnto frankincense. And with a sencer he smoked Cortez with this ceremony they vse their salutations to theyr gods and nobilitie.

This done they set them down, and Cortez enformed him of the cause of their comming into that countrey as he had done in all other places where he had bin.

The *Casike* certified Cortez euen as the Lord of *Zempoallan* had done, but he stood in great feare lest *Mutezuma* shoulde be offended for receyuing and lodging him within that towne, without his commaundement, and being in thys communication, sodenly appeared twentye men entring where they sate, w<sup>th</sup> certain wads like cudgels in their hands, which did signify y they were rent gatherers & in eche other hand, a fly flap of feathers, the *Casike* & his company were soare alrady. Cortez demaunded wherefore he so altered himself, he answered, bicause those twenty *Indians* were collectors of *Mutezuma*, and that he feared that they would complayne of him, hauing founde those

ap.

*Christians*

A strange  
salutation.

A strange  
hap.

Christians there, he feared likewise cruell punishment for the same. Cortes comforted him, saying that *Mutezuma* was his friende, and that he would so vse the matter that he shoulde receyue no blame at all, but rather that *Mutezuma* shoulde giue him thanks for that whiche he had done: And if *Mutezuma* did not, or would not so accept it, that then he would defend both him and his subiects, for (quoth he) euery one of my mē is sufficient for a thousand *Mexicans*, as *Mutezuma* himselfe was well enformed by the late warres at *Potonchan*.

Yet for and notwithstanding all this talke, the Lorde and all his folke were in great feare, and meante to arise and to lodge the receyvers. Cortes would not suffer him, and bycause (quoth he) thou shalt see what I and my men can doe, commaund thy seruants to apprehend and take prisoners these receyvers of *Mexico*, and I will abide here with thee, in such sorte that *Mutezuma* with all his power shall not offende thee.

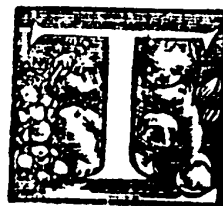
With the courage that he receyued at these wordes, he commaunded to lay hande vpon the *Mexicans*, and by cause they defended themselves, they were sore beaten, and layde euery one in a seuerall prison, and bounde them to a great poste whereat they were tied by the throte, fete, and handes, and being in this sorte imprisoned, they asked of Cortes whether they should kill them. Cortes requested that they should not be slaine, but that they might remayne as they were, with good watch that they might not escape: When they were brought into a hall in the Spaniards lodging, and were placed rounde about a good fire, but yet bounde hande and fote with garde of watchmen. Cortes also appoynted certaine of his men to watch the hall doze, and then went to his lodging to supper, where he and his company was well provided at the *Cazike* furniture.

The receyvers put in prison.

The

## The messages sent by Cortez

unto *Mutezuma*.



The nighte being farre spent, and the *Indians* that kepte the watch being asleepe, Cortes sente vnto the Spaniards that watched at the hall doze where the prisoners were, and commaunded them to let goe two of the prisoners, as secretly as they might, and to bring them vnto him. The Spaniards handled the matter so well, that they fulfilled his desire, and brought two of them to Cortes his chamber, who looked vpon them as though he had not knowen them, and willed *Aguillar* and *Maryna* to demaunde who they were, and what they would haue, and why they had bene in prison. They answered, that they were vassals of *Mutezuma*, and that they had the charge to receyue certayne tributes, that those of that towne & prouince payde vnto their Lorde. And also (quoth they) we know not for what cause we are nowe imprisoned and so cruelly vled. We rather woder to see this new custome and madnesse, for in time past these men were wont to meete vs and receiue vs with great honour & curtesie, shewing all seruice and pleasure. Therefore we thinke that the cause of this alteration is through the fauour of you and your company, who beare the name of immortallitie. We also feare least our felowes which are in prison shal be slaine, before *Mutezuma* haue knowlege therof. Also said they, these barbarous people dwelling in the *Spountaynes*, would be glad to rebel if they found any succour or ayde, only to put their prince to cost and charges, as heretofore they haue done. Therefore they moste humbly besought Cortes that he should not permitte them and their felowes to be slaine,

Sp. 15.

no2

not yet to abide in the handes of their enemies whereso  
he should do singular pleasure to *Mutesuma* their lord, &  
otherwise if they should perish, their Lord would be ve-  
ry sorrowfull that his olde faithfull and trustie seruants  
should haue such a reward for their good seruice.

A wise  
Captaine.

*Cortez* answered that it grieved him much, that *Mu-  
tesuma* his friend should be misused wher he was, no not  
yet his seruantes cuill entreated, and that hee would  
haue as much care ouer them as of his owne, willing  
them to prayse the god of heauen, and to be thankfull vnto  
him that had commaunded them to be set at liberty,  
in the grace and friendship of *Mutesuma*: he certified  
that in all haste they should be dispatched, for *Mexico*  
with certaine busynesse therfore (quoth he) get you to  
meate, and make you strôg to take in hand that iourney,  
trusting to your feete least ye should be taken againe to  
your greate perill and daunger, Thus their meate was  
sone eaten with the great hast they had to be gone.

*Cortez* brought them out of the towne and gaue them  
viatuall to carry with them. And charged for the libertie  
and curtesie shewed vnto them, that they should signifie  
to *Mutesuma* their Lord, howe that he was his assured  
friend, and that after he had vnderstanding of his fame,  
goodnes and mightie power, he much desired to serue him  
yea and that he helde himselfe happy, to fynde himselfe  
at such a time & season to lose those his seruants, and to  
shew therein his good wil, likewise he would do all that  
lay in him to pserue the honour and auctoritie of so gret  
a Prince as hee was, & also to defende his subiectes and  
to loke to his affaires as his owne proper, although his  
highnesse dyd little esteeme his friendship as appea-  
red by *Tendilli*, who departed from him without bidding  
him farewell, and likewise absenting all the people of  
the sea coaste: yet thys notwithstanding he would not  
let

let to do him seruice at all times when occasion should  
serue, and to procure by all meanes possible his grace, fa-  
uour, and friendship, and that he was fully perswaded,  
that his hyghnesse would not refuse his good will and  
friendship, considering that with his acquaintance, God  
had done much for him, to make with a seruante of the  
Emperours, for thereby he might know great secrettes  
of holy things, and also receyue greate benefytes, if then  
he would refuse the same, the fault should be his: but yet  
notwithstanding he trusted in his wisdom, that consi-  
dering the thing well, he would be glad both to see him,  
and talke with him, and also to be friende and brother  
with the King of *Spain*, in whose most happie name,  
both he and his company were come thither. And as  
touching his seruantes that remayned in prison, hee  
would so vse the matter, that they should escape all pe-  
rill, promising also to set them at libertie to pleasure him,  
and that incontinente he would haue done it, but eney  
because he would not offende the Lord of the Towne,  
who had friendly entertayned him with greate curtesie,  
for which cause he would not presume to controll him in  
his owne house, not yet to shewe himselfe vnthankfull.  
The messengers departed with this message very glad  
and ioyfull, promising to accomplishe faithfully y charge  
committed vnto them.

### The confederacy and rebellion

done by the industrie of *Cortez*.



When the *Cazike* founde missing the two  
prisoners, he blamed muche the garde of  
watch, and pretended forthwith to mur-  
ther those that remayned. Then came  
*Cortez*, and requested that their deathe  
should be pardoned, for so muche as they

sp. 19.

were

were but officers obedient to their Lord and master, and according to iustice they had committed no offence, nor yet deserued anye correction in the same, whiche was seruise to their King: but for so muche as they shall not doe as the other two haue done, deliuer them vnto me, and I will take them to my custody and charge.

Upon this request the eyghtene prisoners were deliuered vnto Cortez, who sent them aborde his Shyppes, and there commaunded them to be put in prons. The Lord and his counsellors fearing what mighte followe, entred into councell what was best to doe, considering that they certayneley beleued that the two prisoners whiche were escaped, would certifie in Mexico the shame and cruell entertaynemente done vnto them. Some replied that it was iust and requisite to sende vnto Mutezuma his tribute, with other presentes, to mitigate his anger, and to excuse them, and accuse the Christians, who were the causes of the apprehension of his officers, and to craue pardon of their errorre and oversighte whyche they hadde committed as madde men, in dishonour of the maiestie of Mexico. Others answered agayne, that it were muche better to cast off that yoke of bondage and slavery, and to giue no longer obedience to the Mexitans, who were both cruell and wicked tyrants, and also considering that now they had on their side those halfe Gods, and invincible hoysmen, saying likewise that they should not wante many others their neyghbours and borderers to help and succour them.

In this sorte they resolved themselves fully to rebell, and not to lose so good an occasion, whereupon they besought *Hernando Cortes* to be their defender and Captayne, considering that for his sake they had begun that enterpryse, and whether *Mutezuma* should prepare his army against them or no, yet they on their parte were fully

Divers opinions in  
councell.

fully pretended to hold hym warre, and to desist from seruitude.

God knoweth how glad Cortes was to heare this matter, for he well wayed that it was the high way to his iourneys ende: yet dissimuling the cause, he answered that they should well looke to the thing which they meant to take in hande, bycause (quoth he) I vnderstande that *Mutezuma* is a mightie Prince, but if ye will valiantly procede, I will be youre Captayne, and safely defende you, for I do more esteeme your friendship, than the good will of *Mutezuma*, whyche I nothing care for: therefore lette me knowe what number of men of warre ye are able to make. Sir (quoth they) among all our friends we are able to make a hundred thousande menne of warre. I like that well quoth Cortes, wherefore incontinent sende youre postes, with aduise vnto all your friendes in league against *Mutezuma*, and certifie them of this agreemente and succoure of the Christians, not (quoth he) that I stande in neede of your help, for I alone with my company are able to stande against those of *Cullua*, although they were as manye more, but reason required that they shoulde be warned of your pretence, and to be in readinesse for the same, fearing least *Mutezuma* mighte sende his army vpon a suddayne, and finde you vnprovidid.

With this aduise and encouragement of Cortes, & also they themselves being a people heady and of small consideration, they dispatched incontinent their messengers to all the Townes and Villages of neyghbours and friendes, aduertising them what they hadde determined, exalting the strangers aboue the cloudes.

And by this meanes rebelled many *Cazikes* & townes, and all the whole spoontaynes, so y there was not left any collector or other officer of Mexico in all those borders, with



with open proclamation of warres againste *Mutezuma*, and all his adherentes.

*Cortez* his intet was on the other side, to stirre by these Indians, to get both their goodes, willes, and landes, for otherwise, he could not well bying his matter to passe: he only caused the officers of *Mutezuma*, to be taken prisoners, and to be lonſed agayne, he ſayned a greate loue to *Mutezuma*, and stirred his ſubiectes agaynſte him, he offered to be their defendoꝝ, and leſte them rebelled, to the intent that they ſhould ſtand in neede of him.

### The foundation of the riche

*Towne called Vera Cruz.*



**T**his instant the Flēte was arriued at the port, then wente *Cortez* to viſit them, and carried with him many Indians of the Rebels, both of that Towne, and alſo of *Zempoallan*, who did good ſeruiſe to cutte downe timber, and to carrie ſtones to the place appoynted, for the building of the Citie, named the riche towne of *Vera Cruz*, accoꝝdyng to the determination, when the officers were appoynted for the ſame, and choſen in *S. John de Pihua*, and in good order made repertition to the inhabitants of the ground, and plottes to builde vpon.

They appoynted alſo a place for the high Church, a Market place, a Towne houſe, a Gayle, ſtoꝝe houſes, a kay or Wharfe, to lade or vnlade, a butcher row, & other places neceſſary to the good gouernement and pollicie of a Towne. They alſo drew out a plot to build the Caſtel or ſtoꝝt on, neere the roade in a place conueniente, and in this ſoꝝt began theyꝝ woꝝke, and their houſes made with mudwall, for the earth there is good for that purpoſe.

And euery man being this occupied in this new woꝝke, came

came from *Mexico* two kinſmen of *Mutezuma*, with other four graue learned menne for Councelloꝝ, and many ſeruing men that attended vpon them, as Ambaſſadoꝝ from *Mutezuma*, they preſented vnto *Cortez* certayne cloth of Cotton well wouen, and feathers curiouſly and ſynely wroughte, other pcees of golde and ſiluer wrought, and a Caſket of graynes of golde, as they were founde in the Mines not molten, which wayed altogether two thouſand & ninetie Caſtins, & ſayd, *Mutezuma* hadde ſente hym the golde in the Caſket, to cure theyꝝ diſeaſe, and woulde gladly knowe howe they ſared, giuing alſo vnto him moſt hartie thankes, for loſing his two houſholde ſeruantes, and preſeruing the others from ſlaughter, beſeechyng hym to make accompte, that he woulde doe the lyke in anye affaires of his, deſiring hym alſo to procure the libertie of the other eyghtene Priſoners: and byeaufe thoſe Indians hadde entertayned hym well in their houſes, he did pardon their vppore, yet notwithſtanding he knewe very well that they were ſuche a kynde of people, that in ſhoꝝte ſpace they woulde committe ſome other offences, whereby they myght be chaſtised for all togyther, euen as a Dogge deſerueth ſtripes. And as concerning the reſt of hys requeſt, theyꝝ Lorde was not well at eaſe, and alſo occupied in matters of warre of greate importance, whereby at that preſente, there was no remedie to viſit eache other, but in proceſſe of tyme his deſire ſhoulde be accompliſhed.

*Cortez* welcommed them friendly and ſoyfully, and alſo lodged them in Cotages nere vnto the water ſide, and ſent ſoꝝthwith for the Lorde of *Chiantzlan*, that had rebelled, who came at his commandement. *Cortez* ſayd vnto him, lo ſee what troth I haue vſed with thee, for *Mutezuma* dareth not to ſend any army, no neꝝ yet diſpleaſe anye

person where I am. Therefore from this day forward you and all your lineage and friends may accompte your selues free and exempt from the seruitude of *Mexico*, without rendyng the tributes accustomed. He requested to set at libertie the prisoners, and to restore the to the Ambassadors of *Mutezuma*. Thys *Cazike* willed *Cortez* to doe what pleased him, for sayde he, euen as we haue chosen you for our Captayne, we will not excede one iote of your commaundement: wherevpon he returned home to his towne, and the Ambassadors toward *Mexico*, all well pleased and content.

Nowe same flew abroade, blasing that *Mutezuma* feared the Chzistians, wherevpon all the *Totonaques* prepared themselves for the warres, taking cleane awaye from *Mexico* their tribute and obedience.

The Ambassadors departed from *Cortez* with theyr prisoners, and manye other things that were given the, of linnen, wollen, skynnes, glasse, and yron, being greatly amazed at the things which they had scene.

### Hovv Cortez tooke by force of armes *Tizapanfinca*.

**N**ot long after that these things had happened, the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* sente unto *Cortez*, to desire him of succour against the garriso of *Culhua*, which *Mutezuma* mainteyned in *Tizapanfinca*, who did greatly annoy them, in spoyling, burning, and destroying theyr corne in the fieldes, and slew their husbandmen, and took many prisoners. The Towne of *Tizapanfinca* doth confine with the *Totonaques*, and with the grounde of *Zempoallan*, and is a good strong Towne, scituated nere the River, and hath a fort standing vpon a high rocke. And because this

this Towne was strong, and planted among them who were alwayes seditious and Rebelles, *Mutezuma* placed there his garrison, who seeing the officers of receyuers and auditors come flying thither for helpe, being persecuted of the Rebels, they wente out to pacifie the Rebellion, and for to chasten them, they burned and destroyed whatsoeuer they found, and also had taken many prisoners,

*Cortez* hearing this newes, departed toward *Zempoallan*, and from thence in two dayes iourney with a greate armye of *Indians* to *Tizapanfinca*, whiche stode eyght leagues and more from that Citie.

The garrison of *Culhua* came into the fieldes, thinking to haue hadde battayle onely with those of *Zempoallan*, but when they saw the Horsemen and the bearded men, they lost theyr courage, and beganne to flye as fast as they myghte possible: theyr succoure being nere, they were sone in holde: they would haue entred into theyr Castell, but for y swiftnesse of the Horses which stopped theyr way.

And when the Horses coulde not ascende vpon the forte, *Cortez* alighted with other foure of his men, and among the preasse of the Townesmen got into the forte, and being within, they kept the doze tyll theyr companye came wyth manye friends, vnto whome he deliuered the forte and Towne, desiring to do no hurte to the inhabitantes, but to suffer them to depart freely without weapon and standerbe. It was a newe worlde to those *Indians*, who did fulfyll *Cortez* his commaundements in all poyntes. Thys done, *Cortez* returned agayne to the Sea coast, by the same way whiche he hadde come.

This was the firste victory that *Cortez* had among the subiectes of *Mutezuma*, whereby all the Mountaynes remained

The valiant courage of Cortez.

remayned free from the vexations of the *Mexicans*, and all our men with great fame and reputation, as well among their friendes, as among their enemies, in so much that afterwarde when any neede did happen among the *Indians*, they would immediately sende vnto *Cortez* for one of his men, saying, that one man alone of the *Chryistians*, was sufficient to be their Captayne and securitie.

This was a good begynnyng for the pretence of *Cortez*. Now when he came to *Vera Cruz* w<sup>th</sup> hys company triumphantly, he founde there *Francisco de Salzedo*, who was come with his caruell which he had boughte of *Alonso Canallero*, a dweller in *Saint James de Cuba*, and was left there to be grounded and dressed at his departure from thence. He brought with him, 70. Spanyarden, and nine Horses and Mares, wherewith they all maruellously reioyced.

The presents that *Cortez* sent to  
the Emperour for his fiste.



*Cortez* made greate hast in building vp the new town and the Castell, because the Citizens and souldiers mighte haue succoure against winde and rayne, and commoditie of householde, and likewise to be assured of defence against enemies if neede shoulde happen, pretending like

wise with all expedition, to enter within the land toward *Mexico*, to visit *Motizuma*, and to leaue in that newe worke all thing in good order, he finished many thinges, touching as well the peace as the warre.

He

He commaunded to be brought a lande out of his shippes all the armour & other furniture for the warres, with the Merchandise, victuall and other provision, and to deliuer it to the rulers of the newe Cittie, according to his promise. He also signified vnto all his company that it was meete and conuenient, to sende relation to the King of all theyr proceedings and dealings in that countrey, with demonstration of Golde and Siluer there founde.

And (quoth he) to deale vprightly in this case, it is necessary to deuide equally our treasure to euery man his portion, according to the vse of the warres, the deuision being made, then firste and principally lette vs deduct the things fiste parte. And for the better performance thereof, I doe name and appoynt *Alonso d'Aluiz* Treasurer for the King, and also I doe elect *Gonsulo Mexia* Treasurer of the armie.

All the newe Magistrates ratified his sayings, and allowed his discretion and wisdom, praysing the election of the newe officers as men moste meete for suche an office, and besought them to accept theyr charge.

This diligence done, he commaunded to bring forth into the markette place all the goodes and treasure which they had gotten, as well cloth of Cotten, Feathers, Golde, and Plate, whiche mought amount vnto in value the summe of. 27000. Ducates: The same he caused to be deliuered vnto the newe elected treasurers by account, requestyng the whole counsell of the Cittie that they shoulde make deuision thereof. The counsellours and communalitie replied, saying: Sir here is nothing to deuide, for deductyng the fiste parte whiche appertayneth to the King, all the reste shall be to make payment for the furniture whiche you prepared for this voyage, and you being satisfied, then the shippes, munition and furniture

R. II.

Shall

shall serue in common for vs all, beseeching him with one assent to take all the treasure, and to sende vnto the kings maiestie his portion or fiftie parte, euen as shoulde seme most conuenient vnto him.

Liberalitie  
of Cortez.

Cortez replied and sayde, that time hereafter shoulde serue to pay him according to their gentle offer: But for this present time my louing felowes (quoth he) I will receiue no more than the share or portion that appertayneth vnto my office of generall Captayne, and all the residue shal be for the Gentlemen of my company, where with ye may beginne to make payment of your debtes, whiche ye ought when ye made your prouision to come with me on this voyage.

And where I haue appoynted certayne things to send to the King, of more value than his fiftie parte, it might please them, for as muche as they were suche things as coulde not be well deuided, and likewise the firste fruite of that Conquest, freely to giue him libertie to vse his discretion in that onely point. They al in generall graunted to his request, whereupon he tooke out of the stocke, these things followyng.

## Inuentary.



Firste the two wheelles of Golde and siluer, whiche *Tendilli* presented vnto him on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*.

A collar of golde of eight peces, wherewith hanged a hundred and four score and thre little Emeraldes, and two and thirtie little

the redde stones, lyke vnto Rubies, of small balie: there hanged at the same collar seauen and twentie little belles of Golde, and certayne heads of pearle.

Another collar of foure doubled twiste, with a hundred and two Rubies, and a hundred and seuentie and two Emeraldes, and tenne good pearles well sette, and for border or fringe fye and twentie belles of golde: both these collars were beautifull to beholde, and had many other fine thyngs wrought in them, more than is here declared.

Many graynes of golde of the bignesse of a pease, euen as they were founde.

A Casket of graynes of golde of the same sorte.

A Helmet of woodde chaamped with golde and besette with stones, and at the beauer five and twentie belles of golde, and vpon the toppe a greene birde, with his eyes, beake, and feete of golde.

A sallet of planches of golde, and belles rounde aboute it, decked with stone.

A bracelet of golde of small weight.

A rodde lyke vnto a roiall Scepter, with two rings of golde hangyng thereat, garnished with pearle.

Four forkes with thre shepchwkes at ech, couered with feathers of sundry colours.

Many payres of shoes made of Deere skynnes, solued with golde threde, and in the soles were sette certayne stones of colour white and blew which shyned fayre.

Six payre of letherne shoes of diuers colours, garnished with golde, siluer, and pearle.

A Targatte of woodde couered with leather, beset round about with belles of Latton, and the bolle in the middle was

was planked with gold, and there was engrauid bp  
on the same *Virgilopucthli*, God of the warrs, and also  
foure heads set crossewise, whiche heades were of a  
Lion, a Tigre, an Eagle, and an Owle, verye nicely  
made with feathers.

Many skinnies of beaſt and foule, cozred and dzeſſed in  
their feathers and in haire.

Foure and twenty targets of gold feathers, and ſet with  
pearle both curious and gallant to behold.

Five Targets of feathers and ſiluer.

Foure fiſhes of gold wel wrought.

Two birdes called Auades, and other birdes of gold.

Certaine Hatchets and a rod of latten.

Diuſe looking glaſſes garniſhed with gold.

Many Myters and crownes of gold & feathers wrought  
of many colours beſet with pearle and ſtone.

Many faire feathers of ſundry colours.

Many tuſſes of feathers adozned with ſiluer and gold.

A garment like a coape of cotten, wouen of ſundry cou-  
lours, and in the middelt a blacke whele made of fea-  
thers.

Many ſurplices, beſtments, palles, frontals and orna-  
ments of Idols alters and temples.

Many coverlets of cotten of diuerſe colours, whiche  
ſhewed like vnto vnſhozne velvet.

Manye ſhirts, Jackettes, headclothes and other nape-  
rie.

Many Carpets and hangings of cotten.

All theſe things wer moze beautiful than rich, although  
the wheeles were very rich, the workmanſhippe of al the  
reſt, was moze worth than the thing it ſelfe. The colours  
of the cloth of cotten wool was exceeding fine, and the fea-  
thers natural.

The pounced worke in gold and ſiluer did exceed our  
gold.

goldſmithes, of whiche things we will write in an other  
place. They toynd with this preſent certaine Indian  
bookes of figures which ſerue to their uſe for letters: theſe  
bookes are ſolden like vnto clothes, and written on both  
ſides. Some of theſe bookes were made of cotten & glewe,  
and others were made of leaues of a certaine tree called  
Melt, whiche ſerue for theſe paper, a thyng ſtraunge to  
behold.

Strange  
Paper.

At that time the Indians of Zempoallan had many priſo-  
ners to ſacrifice. Cortez demaunded them to ſend vnto the  
Emperour, but the Indians deſired him to pardon them,  
for if we ſo do (quoth they) we ſhall offend our gods, who  
will take awaye our cozne and children from vs, yea and  
also our lines in ſo doing.

Yet notwithstanding, Cortez tooke foure of them, and  
two women which were al yong and luſtic.

But it was very ſtrange to ſee thoſe that ſhould be ſa-  
crificed, how they wer trimmed and deckt with feathers,  
and went dauncing through the Cittie, aſking almes for  
their ſacrifice & death. It was also ſtrange to ſee the offe-  
rings y<sup>e</sup> were giuen the. They had at their eares hanging  
rings of gold beſet with turkie ſtones, & likewiſe other  
rings at their lippes, whiche ſhewed their teeth bare, a  
grieſely ſight to ſee, but yet eſteemed among them a thing  
beautifull.

### Letters from the army and magiſtrates of the new towne directed to the Emperour.



When this preſent and fiſt part was layde  
aſide for the king, Cortez required the ma-  
giſtrats to name and appoint two attur-  
nyes, to carry the Emperours portion vnto  
Spayne. And that he for his part would

D.

giue

glue vnto them his full power, and letter of attourneye, with also one of his beste Shippes for that voyage.

The Counsell of the newe towne chose *Alonso Fernandez Portocarrero*, and *Francisco de Monteio* for that iourneye: whercof *Cortez* was verrey glad, and gaue them *Antonio de Alominos* for their pilot, with golde and plate sufficiente for tourne and retourne of the voyage. *Cortez* gaue them instructions, what they shoulde doe particularlye for hym, in the Courte of Spaine as also in Ciuil, and the towne where he was borne. Hee sente to his Father and Mother certaine money, with newes of his prosperitie: hee sente also with them the ordinaunces and actes instituted, and wrote by them a large letter to the Emperour, in the whiche hee gaue full aduertisements of all things whyche hadde passed from the time of his departure from the Ilande of *Cuba* vntil that day, and of the discord betwene hym and *James Palsques*, and of their greate traueyle and paynes, with the greate good will whiche they all bare vnto hys royall seruice: hee certified likewise of the riches of that countrey, with the maiestie and power of *Mutezuma*. Hee offered to bring in subiection vnto his royall Crown and State of Castil, al that Empire, to winne also the greate Citie of *Mexico*, and to bring that mightie king *Mutezuma* to his handes quicke or deade.

Beseeching the Emperours maiestie to haue hym in remembraunce when offices and prouisions shoulde bee sente vnto that newe Spayne latelye discovered at hys great costes, and in recompence of hys paynes and trauell.

The Counsell and magistrates of *Fera Cruz* wrote also

also two letters to the Emperour, the one was touching the successe of their proceedings in his royall seruice. In that letter, went onely the Aldermens firmes, and Iudges.

The other letter was firmes by the generalitie and chiefeest of the army, the contentes whercof was in substance, that they would holde and kepe that towne and countrey wonne, in his royall name, or ende they lyues in the quarrel, if his maiestie did not otherwise determine.

They also moste humblye besought him, that the gouernement thereof, and of al that hereafter shoulde bee conquered, might be giuen to *Hernado Cortez* their gulde, generall captaine, and chiefe Justice by them electe and cholen, saying, that wel he had deserued the same, for that he alone spent more than the whole army vpon that iourneye. And that it might please his maiesty to confirm that, which they generally of freewill had done for theyr owne safegard and securitie, in the name of his royall maiesty.

And if by chaunce his maiesty had already giuen the sayde office of gouernement to any other person, that it might please him to reuoke it.

For so shoulde it be expedient for his seruice, and quietnesse of the countrey. And thereby might be excused, rumours, slanders, perils, and slaughters, that myght ensue, if any other shoulde gouerne and rule as captaine general.

And moreouer they besoughte hys maiesty to graunte them answer with breuity, and good dispatch of theyr attourneys, who departed from the porte of *Aguahuisllan* in a reasonable shippe the twenty five day of July. Anno. 1519.

D. H.

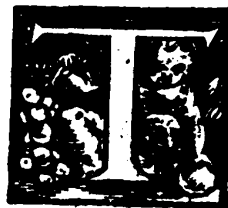
They

They touched by the way at *Marien* a port of *Cuba*, declaring that they went to *Hauana*: they passed through the channell of *Bahama* without disturbance, and sayled with a prosperous winde, till they arrived in *Spainne*.

The cause why the generalltye had written these letters was, suspecting *James Velasques*, who had friends and great fauour in the Court and counsel of *Indias*, and also some secrete friends in *Cortez* his campe. For *Francisco salzeda* brought newes that *James Velasques* had already obteyned a graunt of the Emperour for the government of that land by the meanes of one *Bonito Martinez* going into *Spainne*. And although they knew not the certainty thereof, yet it was most true, as shal appeare in another place.

### An vproare among the souldiers against

*Cortez*, and the punishment for the same.



There were some in the host y murmured against the election of *Cortez*, for thereby was excluded *James Velasques*, vnto who they bare good will.

Some were *Velasques* friends, and other some his kinnesfolkes, who letted not to say openly, that *Cortez* by flattery, fustellie and giftes had gotten and obteyned his purpose.

And that the dissimulation in making hym selfe to bee entreated and prayed to accepte that charge and office, was a thing craftily sayned, whereby suche election coulde not bee of anye value, and chieslye without any such authority of the *Jerome Friers* dam, who

who ruled and gouerned the *Indians* as chiefe presidents: how muche moze they hadde newes that *James Velasques* had already obteyned the gouernement of that land, and *Yucatan*. Then *Cortez* began to vnderstande in those matters, and made inforamatio who had raysed up this rumeur, and being knowen, he apprehended the chieslye their wyath, he shortly released them agayne, the which afterwards was cause of moze mischief, for these his enimies woulde haue fledde with a *Uergantine* and killed the maister, pretending to flye vnto the *Islande* of *Cuba*, for to aduertise *James Velasques* of the great present sent vnto the Emperour, to the intent it shoulde be taken from their attorners passing nere the porte of *Hauana*, with all the letters and relations of their busynesse, because the Emperoure shoulde not see it, to conceyue well of their proceedings. Then *Cortez* began to be agreed in earnest, and apprehended diuers of them, whose confessions being taken, the matter was manifestly knowen to be true, and therevpon according to the proccesse, hee condemned those that were most culpable, and caused forthwith two of them to be hanged, who were *Iohn Escudero*, and *James Cermenio* pilot, and condemned *Gonsalo de Umbria* and *Alonso Penate* to be whipped, and incontinent execution was done, all the rest being pardoned.

With this correction *Cortez* was moze feared, and also esteemed, than befoze he was, for certainly if he hadde bled gentlenesse, he shoulde neuer haue tamed them, yea and if he had not loked to them in time, he had bin spoiled: for their pretence was, to haue aduertised *James Velasques*, who woulde haue preuented them of their Shypps and present, and yet afterwarde he sente a *Caruell* after the sayd Ship, although it were too late.

D.iiij.

*Cortez*

Mischefe.

Two hang  
ged, and  
two vvhip  
ped.



Cortez caused all his Shippes to be

*sunke, and broken vpon the shore, &  
most worthy facte.*



**C**ortez purposed to goe vnto *Mexico*, and would not geue his Souldoyers to vnderstand it, by cause they shoude not refuse the iourney, through the talke of *Tendili*, especially hearing that the Citie of *Mexico* was situated vpon water, whych they imagined to be exceeding strong, as in effect it was: and to the intent that they should all follow hym, although against their willes, he determined to spoyle all his Shyppes, which was a strange case, perillous, and a great losse. His intent thoroughly weyed, he little esteemed the losse of his Shyppes to withstand his men from disturbance of his enterpryse, for doubtlesse they would haue stayed him, yea and rebelled, if they hadde knowen his minde and pretended purpose. He did secretly accord with one of the Maisters of his flete in the night season to boze holes in them, that thereby they myghte synke, wythoute any remedie to recouer them againe.

Also he requested the other Maisters and Pilots to publish among the army, that the Shyppes were so rotten and woymeaten, that they were not fytte to goe to sea againe, and that they shoulde, when they chanced to espye him and many of his Souldiers together, come and certifie him openly of the estate and force of the sayde Shyppes, bycause that afterwarde they shoulde not laye any fault to his charge.

According to this instruction, the Pilots and Maisters did accomplish his commaundement: for shortly after they espyed him among a flocke of his companye, and then came they vnto him, saying: Sir, your nauie is not

A famous  
facte.

not to make any more voyages, by reason that they are all leake, and spoyled, rotten, and woyme eaten, wherfore according to our ductie, we do certifie you thereof, to provide therein as you shall see cause. All the Souldiers gaue credite to their tale, bycause the Shyppes had bin there more than thre monethes. And after long talke aboute the matter, Cortez commaunded that they shoulde profite themselves of them the best that they myght, and as for the Hylles, let them synke or runne ashore, sayning great sorrow for so great a losse, and want of such provision. And in this manner they lette runne a shoure fyue of the best Shyppes, sayning theyr Ordinance, vittayles, sayles, Cables, Ankers, ropes, and all other tackle: and shortly after they spoyled other foure vessels, but that was done wyth some difficultie, bycause they beganne to surmise the intente of Cortez, and beganne openly to saye, that Cortez meant to carrie them to the slaughter house. He then pacified them wyth gentle wordes, saying, what is he that will refuse the warres in so riche a Countrey: if there be any of you that will leaue my companye, hee or they may (if please them) retorne to *Cuba* in a Shyppe that yet remaineth. And this hee spake, to knowe howe many were the cowards, meanyng in tyme of neede to haue no trust or confidence in them. Then dyuers shamelesse persons demaunded licence to retorne to *Cuba*, but they were suche as loued no warres. There were also others that said nothing, who would gladly haue retourned, sayng the greatenesse of the Countrey, and the multitude of the people, but yet they were ashamed to shewe cowardise openly.

Cortez knowing his souldoyers mindes, commaunded the other Ship to be sunke, so that then they were all without hope to goe out of that Countrey at y time, exalting  
and

and praysing the noble minde of *Cortes* shewed in that worthy facte. Certaynely it was a dede necessary for the present tyme, and done by the iudgement of a stout Captayne, although he lost much by his Shyppes, and abode without succour of the sea. There are few of these examples, which are not of valiant personages, as was *O-miez Barbaroza* with the cut arme, who a few yeares past brake seauen Gallies and floytes, to winne thereby *Bugia*, as largely I do write thereof in battayles of y sea in our dayes.

### How the inhabitants of Zempoallan

brake downe their Idolles.



Every day seemed long to *Cortes*, with the desire to see *Mutezuma*. He now began to publish openly his journey and departure, and chose out of the body of his host a hundred and fiftie men, which he thought sufficient to leaue for safeguard of the new towne and fort, which was almost finished, and appointed *Pedro de Hircio* their Captaine, leaving with them two Horses, and two small peeces of Ordnance, with many *Indians* to serue them, and fiftie *Colonnes* round about them in faithfull friendship and league, out of the which *Colonnes* they might alwayes haue at their neede fiftie thousande men of warre: and he departed with the residue of his Spaniards towarde *Zempoallan*, whiche mighte be foure leagues from thence, and was scarcely come to the towne, when newes was broughte hym that foure Shippes of *Francisco Garay* layed along bys coast, and were in sight of *Pera Cruz*. With this newes he returned incontinent with a hundred of his men, suspecting euill of those Shippes. At his coming to *Pera*

*Cruz*,

Newes  
for Cortes.

*Cruz*, his Captaine there enformed him how he had gone himselfe to know what they were, and from whence they came, and what they would, but coulde speake with none of them. *Cortes* beyng informed how they roade at anker, toke Captaine *Hircio* and certaine of his company to expect their commyng ashore, suspectyng them muche, because they roade so farre off, being by signes and tokens willed to come into the Harboz. *Cortes* hauing wandered neare thre miles, mette with thre Spaniards whiche came from the shippes, the one of them sayde that he was a Notary, and the other two were to serue for witness in their affayres, which was, to ascite and notifie certaine wytyngs, whiche they shewed not: and also to require *Cortes* by vertue of the same, to come and make repartitiō of that countrey with captayne *Garay* their generall, for they sayd Captaine pretended that conquest (as first discoverer of the same,) certisyng mozeouer that hee was determined to inhabite twentie leagues distāt from that place Westwarde neare vnto *Nahuilan*, whiche now is called *Armeria*. *Cortes* answered, that they should returne vnto their shippes, and to will theyr Captayne to come to *Pera Cruz* with his nauie, and there they woulde commune togither aboute his comming, and if he stood in neede of any thing it shoulde be provided. And if it were (as they reported) that he was comen on the Kings affaires, he woulde gladly fauour his proceedings, considering that he and all his were there in seruice of his highnesse, how muche moze beyng all of one nation.

They answered, that in no wise their captaine nor none of his army woulde come ashore, nor yet come where as *Cortes* was. With this answer *Cortes* vnderstood the matter, and layde holde of them, and went and placed himself in ambushe behinde a little hill of sande, whiche stood right ouer agaynst the shippes, beyng neare sunne sette, &

Id.

Hepte

Hept there that night till daye approached, and the morning farre spent, hopping that *Garay* his Pilote or some of his company would come ashore, meaning likewise to apprehende them for to be certified what course they had made, and what hurte they had done, and finding them guiltie, to sende them prisoners into Spayne: likewise he desired to knowe whether they had spoken with any vassals of *Mutezuma*, and seying they came not a lande his suspicion was the greater.

A vwise  
practise.

*Cortes* commaunded thre of his men to chaunge apparell with the thre messengers that came from *Garay*, and this done, caused them to goe to the Sea side, waupng with theyr clokes, and calling for the shippe boate. Now those of the shippes thought by theyr apparell that they were their owne menne, and came with a dozen persons in the skiffe with Crossebowes and Handgunnes. Then *Cortes* his men whiche were clothed in other mens garments hidde themselves among bushes, as who would say, they were gone into the shadowe, for to flee from the great heate of the Sunne, being at that time highe none, and bicause they should not be knowne.

The Partners of the skiffe set a lande two men with Hargabushes, and other two men with Crossebowes, and an Indian who went straight way to the bushes, thinking to finde their fellows. Then hept forth *Cortes* and caught them befoze they coulde gette aboarde the skiffe, although they meant to haue defended themselves, so that one of them who was a Pilote, hauing his Hargabush ready charged, & would haue shot at captaine *Hircio*, & assuredly if his match and powder had bene good he had slayne him. When the general aboarde the ships perceiued this deceit, he would abide no longer, & commaunded to make saile, not tarryng for his skiffe. By these seven men taken at two times *Cortes* was satisfied, & also certified how captaine *Garay* had sayled

sayled along the coast seeking Florida, and arrived in a riuer (the King of that prouince was called *Panuco*,) where they founde little golde, bartering aboarde their shippes: all theyr golde passed not thre thousande Castellins, but in exchaunge of things of small value: nothing contented *Garay* on that voyage, bycause the quantitie of golde was small and not fine.

With this newes *Cortes* returned to *Zempoallan* with his men which he brought in his company: and there concluded and fully agreed with those Indians to pull downe theyr Idols & sepulchres of their *Casiks*, whiche they did reuerence as Gods, perswading them to worship the God of heauen. And after this doctrine their league of friendship was effectually established, and with other townes adioyning against *Mutezuma*. Those Indians gaue vnto him gagues to be alwayes faithfull of worde & promise, and offered vnto him as many men fitte for warre & seruice as he would require. *Cortes* receiued the gagues which were of the principallest persons of the townes, as *Mamexi*, *Tench*, and *Tamalli*, he took also a thousand *Tamemes*, that is to say, men that are carriers, who ordinarily taketh his burden vpon his backe which is halfe a hundred waight, and those fellows followe the campe with their bagge & baggage: These men serued for horses to draw the ordinance, and to carrie other munition and victuals.

### Hovv Olintec exalted the mightie power of *Mutezuma*.



*Cortes* departed fro *Zempoallan* (leaving that towne named *Sinilia*;) toward Mexico, the sixtenth day of August of the same yere, with 400. Spaniards and fiftene horses, & sixe peeres of ordinance, and 1100. Indians w the carriers & men of Cuba. And whē *Cortes* departed fro  
B. y. Zempoallan

*Zempoallan* he had not one vassall of *Mutezuma* in his campe to leade them the way towarde *Mexico*, for al were fledde, seing the new league, or else by commaundement of their Lord: and the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* knew not well the way.

The first thre dayes iourney the army passed through the countrey of their friendes, & were lovingly receyued and lodged, especially in *Xalapan*. The fourth day they came to *Sicuchimatl*, whiche is a strong place situated on a hill side very craggy, and the way to passe therevnto is made with force of mans hande as a stappe. And if the inhabitants thereof would haue resisted the entraunce, with great difficultie bothe footemen & horsemen mought haue entred the towne, but as afterwarde appeared, they were commaunded by *Mutezuma* to lodge them and also to honour them. The rulers of that towne sayde to *Cortes*, that for as muche as he wente to visite their Prince *Mutezuma*, he should assure himselfe that they were and would be his friendes. This towne hath many villages and farmes beneath in the playne, for *Mutezuma* was alwayes prouided there of. 5000. men of warre.

*Cortes* gaue great thanks to the Lord for his curtesie and good entertaynement, muche esteeming the good will of this Lord *Mutezuma*, and so departed from thence, and wente to passe ouer a mountayne very high, the passage whereof he named *Nombre de dios*, bycause it was the first that he had passed, being so asperous and highe, that there is none suche in all *Spainne*, for it conteyned directly by right thre leagues, and hath in many places grapes and trees with bony. And disceyding downe on the other side of that hill, they came to a towne called *Thenhixnacan*, whiche is a forte and friende to *Mutezuma*, where our army was receyued and entertayned as in the other towne behinde.

And

And from thence he traueled thre dayes in a countrey inhabitable, and passed some necessitie of hunger, & much more of thirst, because all the water that they founde was saltishe, and many of his men for wante of other drinke thereof, whereof they fell into sicknesse: and sodainly fel a meruaylous Hayle with great colde, whiche increased their griefe, yea and the *Indians* of their company thought there to ende theyr liues, & some of the *Indians* of *Cuba* died there through nakednesse, not being accustomed to so cold a countrey. After the fourth iourney of euill way they ascended by an other hil, and vpon the toppe thereof, (to their iudgement) they founde a thousande carte loades of wood ready cut, neare to a little towne of idoles: they named that place the porte of wood: & hauing passed two leagues from the porte of wood, they founde the countrey barren and poore, but sone after the army came to a place whiche they named white Castell, because the Lordes house was of stone very white and newe, and the beste that they had seene in all that countrey, and so curiously wrought, that they meruayled thereat: that towne in their language is called *Zacatlan*, and the balley neare vnto it is named *Zacatami*, and the Lordes name is *Olinlec*, who receyued *Cortes* honozably, and prouided for him and his company abundantly, being so commaunded by *Mutezuma*, as he reported afterwarde.

And in token that he had receyued that comission from his Lord, he commaunded fiftie men to be sacrificed for ioy, whose bloud they saue newe and freshe. The townes men of that towne caried the *Spanyarden* on their shoulders, on suche beares as we carry dead men to Church. *Cortes* enforimed them (by his enterprisers) of the cause of his comming into that countrey, as he had vsed in other places, & demaunded whether he the Lord of this towne were tributary to *Mutezuma*. This *Cazike* being amazed

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at

at his question, answered, saying: What is he that is not eyther slave or vassall to the great *Mutezuma*. Then *Cortes* certified him, who and what the Emperour king of Spayne was, willing him to be his friend and seruitour, & further enquired if he had any golde to sende him some. This *Cazike* answered, that he would do nothing without the commaundement of his Lord, nor yet sende his king any golde although he had inough. *Cortes* dissimuled the matter, and helde his peace, yet by and by he desired to knowe the Maiestie and mightie power of *Mutezuma*; the *Cazike* answered, that *Mutezuma* was Lord of the whole worlde, and that he had thirtie Vassalls who were able to make a. 100000. men of warre: eche one of them he also certified that he sacrificed. 20000. men yerely to his Goddes: And also his dwellyng was in the most beautifulllest and stryngest cittie of al that euer was inhabited, likewise (quoth he) his house and courte is mosse greate, noble, and replenished with Gentlemen, his riches incredible, and his charges excessive. And truely therein he sayde the very troth, excepte in the sacrifice wherein he something enlarged, although the slaughter of men for sacrifice in euery temple was very great, yea and some hold opinion, that some peeres were sacrificed aboue. 50000. men. Being in this conuersation, came two Gentlemen of that valley to see the Spanyardes, and eche of them presented vnto *Cortes* foure women slaves, & certayne collers of golde of small price. *Olimtec* although he was vassall to *Mutezuma*, was a greate Lord, and had. 20000. vassalls, and thirtie wiues altogether in his house, beside a hundred other women that attended vpon them. And had for his garde and household. 2000. persons, his towne was great, & had. 13. temples in it, & eche temple many idoles of stone of diuers fashions, before whom they sacrificed men, doues, quayles, & other things w<sup>th</sup> perfumes & great benediction.

ratio. In this place and territorie, *Mutezuma* had. 5000. souldiers in garrison, and ordinarie postes from thence to *Mexico*. Untill this time, *Cortes* had not so amply vnderstande the mighte and power of *Mutezuma*, yea and though many inconueniences, difficulties, feare, and such like, did represent it selfe vnto him in his iourney to *Mexico*, whiche perhaps would haue amazed some valiant persons, yet he shewed not one toke of cowardise, hauing hearde suche a reporte of that mightie Prince, but rather his desire was so much the more to see hym.

Considering now that he shoulde passe through *Taxcallan* to goe to *Mexico*, *Taxcallan* being a greate & strong Citie, and warlike people: he dispatched four *Zempoallanezes* to the Lordes and Captaynes of that Citie, on the behalfe of *Zempoallan* and his owne, offering vnto them his friendship and fauour, giuing them to vnderstande, that those few Chyistians would come vnto their Citie to serue the, desiring the to accept the same, thinking assuredly that those of *Taxcallan* would haue done with him as the *Zempoallanezes* had done, which were both good and faithful, who had alwayes vsed trouth with him, eue so he thought that now he moughte credite them, for they had enformed him, that the *Tlaxcaltecas* were their friends, and so would be his, considering that they were bitter enemies to *Mutezuma*, and willingly would goe with him to the siege of *Mexico*, with desire of libertie, and to reuenge olde iniuries and griefes, whiche they had susteyned many yeares befoze of the people of *Culhua*. *Cortes* refreshed himselfe in *Zaclotan* five dayes, where is a fresh riuer and quiet folke, pulling downe the Idolles, and placed a remembrance of Chyist crucified, as he hadde done in all the Townes that he had passed.

He toke his leaue of *Olimtec*, leauing him wel pleased, & went to a town two leagues fro thence along y<sup>e</sup> riuer side, where

whereof was *Lorde Ixtacmixtlitan*, one of the Gentlemen who had given him the hautes and collers of golde.

This towne standeth in a playne ground of two leagues compasse, which is replenished with so many houses as doth seeme to touche one another, in that way that our army passed: and the towne it selfe doth contayne five thousande householdes, standing on a hill, and on the one side thereof is the *Lordes* house with a strong forte, being the beste yet scene in those parties, walled with good stone with barbutan and deepe ditch. Where *Cortes* resided himselfe thre dayes, abiding the foure messengers whiche he sent from *Zaclosan*, to knowe the answer that should be brought.

### The first encounter that Cortez had

*with the men of Tlaxcallan.*



A strange  
wall.

*Cortes* seying the long taryng of the messengers, he departed from *Zaclosan* without any intelligence from *Tlaxcallan*. Our cap had not marched much after their departure from that place, but they came to a great circuite of stone made without lyme or morter, being of a fadom and a half high, and twentie fote bryde, with loupe holes to shote at: that wall crossed ouer all the valley from one mountayne to another, and but one onely entraunce or gate, in the whiche the one wall doubled against the other, and the way there was fourtie paces bryde, in such sort, that it was an euill and perillous passage, if any had bene there to defend it. *Cortes* demaunded the cause of that circuite, and who had buylt it, *Ixtacmixtlitan* that wente to beare him company, tolde him that it was but a deuision from their countrey and *Tlaxcallan*, and that their antecessors had made the same to

to disturbe the entrance of the *Tlaxcaltecas* in time of warre, who came to robbe and murther them, bycause of the friendship betwixte them and *Mutezuma*, whose vassals they were.

That strange and costly wall, seemed a thing of greater maiestie to our *Spanyarden*, and more superfluous than profitable, yet they suspected that the *Tlaxcaltecas* were valiant warriors, who had suche defense made agaynst them. And as *Cortes* and his army stode beholding thys worke, *Ixtacmixtlitan* thought he had bin afrayde to proceede forward, and prayed him (so much as he was his *Lordes* friend) not to passe that way, nor yet through the Countrey of *Tlaxcallan*, so muche as he wente to visite his maister, for (quoth he) if they knowe you to be my *Lordes* friende, they will seeke youre displeasure, as they haue done to others, and I will prouide you guides to leade you continually through the dominion of *Mutezuma*, where you shall be well receyued and prouided, until you come to *Mexico*.

But *Mamexi* and the others of *Zempoallan* willed hym to refuse that offer and counsell in any wise, alleadgyng that it was an onely pretence to separate them from the friendship of that prouince, whose people were good, honorable, and valiant, and that *Ixtacmixtlitan*s perswasion was to prohibite theyr helpe and succoure agaynst *Mutezuma*, willing hym earnestly to geue no credite vnto his sayings, for he and his allyes are false Traytors, and meante to byng hym into some snare, where they myghte kill both him and his company, and seide vpon theyr flethe.

*Cortes* for a space was amazed at y<sup>e</sup> talke of y<sup>e</sup> one and the other; but in conclusion he accepted the counsell of *Mamexi*, for that he hadde conceyued a better opinion of the *Zempoallanexes* his allyed friendes, than of the others.

thers. And setting all feare asyde, he toke the way to *Tlaxcallan*, bydding *Iztacmixtli* a fawell, and with thre hundred *Shoulders* on a ranke, he entred the way in the wall, and proceeded in good order all the way forwarde, carrying the *Ordinance* ready charged, and he himselfe the leader of all his army, yea and sometimes he woulde be halfe a league befoze them, to discouer and make the way playne.

And hauing gone the space of thre leagues from that circuite, he commaunded his footemen to make hast, because it was somewhat late, and he with his *Horsemen* went to descrye the way forwarde, who ascendyng by a hyll, two of the saymost *horsesmenne* mette with fiftene *Indians* armed with *swordes* and *Targets* and tuffes of feathers, whiche they vse to weare in the warres. These fiftene were spies, and when they saue the *Horsemen*, they beganne to flye with feare, or else to gyue aduise.

When approached *Cortez* with other thre *horsesmen*, calling to them to stay, but by no meanes they woulde abyde: then syre *Horsemen* ranne after them, and ouertooke the, who toynd all together, with determinatio rather to dye than to yelde, shewing them signes to stande still; yet the *Horsemen* comyng to lay handes on them, they prepared themselves to battayle, and foughte, desendyng themselves for a while. In thys fyghte the *Indians* slewe two of theyr *Horses*, and as the *spanyarden* doe witness, at two blowes they cutte off a *Horse* head, bydle and all. When came the rest of the *Horsemenne*, and the army approached, for there were in fyghte nere fye thousande *Indians* in good order, to succoure theyr fiftene fyghting menne, but they came too late for that purpose, for they were all slayne wth the anger that was taken for the killyng of the two *Horses*,

*Horses*, and woulde not render themselves in tyme: yet notwithstanding theyr fellows foughte, untill they espyed our armye comyng, and the *Ordinance*, then they returned, leauyng the fiede to our menne, but our *Horsemenne* followed them, and slewe aboute 70. persons of them, withoute receyuing anye hurte.

Thys done, the *Indians* sente vnto *Cortez* two of the foure messengers whiche hadde bin sente thither befoze wth other *Indians*, sayng, that the *Tlaxcaltecas* knewe nothyng of the thynges that were happened, certifying lykewyse that those with whome hee hadde fought were of other communities, and not of their iurisdiction, beeyng sorrowfull for that whyche hadde passed: and for so muche as it happened in theyr Countrey, they woulde willingly pay for the two *Horses* whyche were slayne, praying them to come in good tyme to theyr Towne, who woulde gladly receyue them, and enter into theyr league of friendship, bycause they seemed to be valiant menne: but all was a fained and a false message.

A subtil  
message.

Yet *Cortez* beleued them, and gaue them thanks for theyr curtesie and good will, and that accordyng to theyr request he woulde goe vnto theyr Towne, and accepte their friendship. And touchyng the deathe of his *Horses*, he required nothyng, for within shorte space he expected many moe: but yet God knoweth how sorrowfull he was for the want of them, and not only so muche for the, as that the *Indians* shoulde thinke that *Horses* could dye, or be slayne.

*Cortez* proceeded forwarde aboute two leagues where the *Horses* were kyled, although it was almost sunne sette, and his men wæried, hauing trauelled farre that day.



This will was, to haue pitched his Camp in a strong place of water: wherefoze he planted his army by a River side, whereas they remayned all that night with good watche both of footemen and horsemen, fearing some assault; but there was no attempt giuen that night, where- by they might haue taken better rest, than they were aware of.

Howv there ioyned a hundred and fiftie

thousand men against Cortez.



The next morning at Sunne rising, Cortez departed with his army in good order, and in the middelt of them wente the sardage and artillerie, and as sone as they were come to a little Village there nere at hande, they mette with the other two messengers of Zempoallan, who departed from them at Zacatlan: they came with pittifull chere, exclayming of the Captaynes of the power of Tlaxcallan, who had bounde them, and deteyned them from returning; but with good fortune, that nighte they hadde broken loose, and escaped, for otherwise in the morning following, they had bin sacrificed to the God of Midozy, and after the sacrifice, to be eaten, for a good beginning of their warres, protesting the like to be done with the verbed men, and with as many as came with them.

They had no soner tolde their tale, when there appeared behinde a little hill about a thousande Indians, verie well appoynted after their fashion, and came with lache a marvellous noise and crye, as though they voyces shoulde haue pearced the Heauens, hurling at our menne stoncs, darts, and shotte with bowes and Arrowes,

Cortez

Cortez made many tokens of peace vnto them, and by his interpreters desired them to leaue the battell. But so much the moze as he entreated for peace, the moze haustie and earnest were they, thinkyng either to haue ouercomeu them, or else to holde them play, to the entet that the Spanyardes should haue solowed them to a certaine ambushe that was prepared for them, of moze then 80000. men, whiche they had planted in a creeke of a riuer which abutted vpo the high way. Then our men began to cease from wordes, and to lay hande vpon their weapons, for that company of a thousande were as many, as on our side were fighting men, they were well practised in the warres, very baliat, and also pitched in a better place for fight. This battell endured certaine houres, and at the ende the Indians being eyther wearied, or else meanyng to take our men in the snare appointed, began to sic toward theyr maine battell, not as ouercome, but to ioyne with their owne folke. And our men being hote in the fight and slaughter whiche was not litle, followed them with all their sardage, and vnwares fell into the ambushe among an infinite number of Indians armed, they stayde not bycause they would not put themselves out of order, and passed thzough their campe with great haste & feare. The enimies began to sette vpon the horsemen, thinkyng to haue taken their lances from them, their courage was so stout: many of the Spanyardes had there perished, had it not bin for the Indian friends. Likewise the courage of Cortez did much animate them, for although he ledde his army making way, yet diuers times he turned him backe to place his men in order and to comforte them, and at length came out of that daungerous way into the playne felde, where the horses mought helpe, and the ordinaunce stande in stede, whiche two things did greatly annoy the enimie to their great wonder and maruell, and

First battayle.

80000. men.

Seconde battayle.

Q. iij.

at

at the sight thereof began to flee.

In bothe encounters remayned many *Indians* slayne and wounded, and of the *Spaniards* some were hurt, but none killed, giuing moste hartie thanks vnto God for their deliuey from so great a multitude of *Indians* their enemies with muche ioye and pleasure of the victoꝝ. Then they wente to pitche their campe in a villiage called *Teoncazaco*, where was a little Tower and a Temple, and there fortified themselves, and buylte cotages of bowes and strawe. The *Indians* of *Zeampoallan*, and those of *Izacmixelitan* did play the valiant men that day, wherefoꝛe Cortes honoured them with hartie thanks.

This day was the first of September. The night following our men slepte not quietly with feare of inuasion of their enemies, but they came not, for they neuer use to fight in the nighte season. And as soone as it was day Cortes sente to the Captaynes of *Tlaxcallan*, to requyre them of peace and friendshippe, willing them quietly to suffer the passage thzough their countrey to *Mexico*, for that they meant them no hurte but rather good will. This done, hee lefte two hundzeth *Spaniards* and the Carreirs in the campe. And toke with him other two hundzeth, with seuen hundzeth *Indians*, and wente with them abzoꝛe to skirmishe in the face of their enemies, and at that tyme burned fve or sixe villages, and returned with foure hundzeth pꝛisoners, without receyving any hurte, although they followed him to his campe. At his returne he founde the answer of the Captaynes his enemies, whiche was, that the next day they would come and talke with him and declare theyꝛ mindes.

Cortes was well pꝛeuented that night, for the answer liked him not, but rather seemed bzane, and a matter determined to be done as they had sayde: lykewise those whiche were taken pꝛisoners, certified that his enemies were

The care  
of good  
souldiers.

were loyned together to the nũber of 150000. me to giue him battaile the next day following, & to swallow the alme whom so mortally they did hate, thinking the to be frieds to *Mutezuma*, vnto whom they wished all euil & mischief. 150000  
men.

It was moste true that the *Tlaxcaltecas* had gathered all their whole power to appzeheñde the bearded menne, and to make of them a moze solemne sacrifice vnto their Goddes, than at any time heretofore they had done, with a generall banquet of their flesh, which they called Celestial. The Captaynes of *Tlaxcallan* deuided their souldiers into foure battayles, the one to *Tepeiticpac*, another to *Ocotelulco*, the third to *Tizatlan*, and the fourth to *Quiahuitlan*, that is to say, the men of the Mountaynes, the men of the Lynepittes, the men of the Pinctrees, and the waſter men, euery of these had their Lordes and Captaynes whome they shoulde repayze vnto and obey, and all these foure sortes of men dothe make the body of the common weale and cittie, and also commaunde both in tyme of warre and peace. So that euery of these Captaynes had his iust portioꝛ number of warriors, but the general of all the whole army was called *Xicotencatl*, who was of the Lynepittes: and he had the Standart of the cittie, which is a Crane of gold with his wings spꝛed, adozned with Emeralds & sluerwoꝛke, whiche Standart is according to their vse, either caried befoze the whole host or else behinde the all. The second Captaine or Lieutenent was *Maxicatzin*, & the number of the whole army was 150000. men. Such a great number they had ready against 400. *Spaniards* & yet at length overcome: neuerthelesse after all this bzyle, they were most greatest friends. These foure captains came wth their chpany that the fields where they were seemed a forest. They were trimme selowes & well armed according to their vse, although they were paynted so that their faces shewed like diuels with great tuffes of feathers,

Indian are  
in it.

feathers and triumphed gallantly. They had also slings, staves, speares, swords, bowes and arrowes, shulles, splintes, gantlettes all of wood, gilt or else couered with feathers or leather, their corselets were made of cotten wolle, their targettes and bucklers gallant and strong, made of woodde couered with leather, and trimmed with laton and feathers, theyr swords were staves with an edge of flint stone cunningly layned into the staffe, which woulde cutte very well and make a soze wounde.

The host (as is declared) was deuised into foure parts, their instrumentes of warre were hunters hoznes, and drummes called attabals made like a calbzon and couered with bellam. So that the Spanyardes in all the discouery of India did neuer see a better army togither nor better ordered.

### The threatning of the Indian campe agaynst the Spanyardes.



These Indians were great braggers, and sayde among themselves, what madde people are these that threatne us and yet knoweth us not: But if they will be so bolde to invade our countrey without our licence, let us not sette upon them so sone, it is mette they haue a little reste, for w<sup>th</sup> hane tyme inough to take & binde them, let us also sende them meate for they are comen with empty stomakes: And agayne they shall not say that we do apprehende them with mearesse and hunger. Whereupon they sent unto the Christians three hundred Cynipa saches, and two hundred baskets of bread called *Cenli*. The whiche present was a great sucker for the name that they stode in. And sone after (quoth they) now let us goe and sette upon them, for

A present.

by

by this time they haue eaten their meate, and now we will eate them, and so shall they pay vs the viuals that we sent: likewise we wil know if *Mutezuma* commaunded them to come into our countrey, or who else. And if he sente them, then let him come and deliuer them: and if it be their owne enterpryse, they shall receyue theyr reward accordingly. These and such like bragges they vsed, seeing so fewe Spanyardes before them, and not knowing their strength. When the foure Captaynes sente two thousande of their valiantest men of warre and olde souldiers, to take the Spanyardes quietly, with commaundement that if they did resist, either to binde them or else to kill them, meanyng not to sette their whole army vpon them, saying that they shoulde gette but small honour for so great a multitude, to fight agaynst so fewe. The two thousande souldiers passed the trench that was betwixt the two campes, and came boldly to the Tower where the Christians were. Then came forth the Hoyses men, and after them the footemen, and at the first encounter they made the Indians see howe the yron swords woulde cutte: and at the seconde, they shewed of what force those fewe in number were, of whome a little before they had so lesed: But at the thirde brunte they made those lusty souldiers fly, who were come to apprehende them, for none of them escaped, but onely suche as knewe the passage of the trenches or ditch.

When the mayne battell and whole army sette forth with a terrible and marvellous noyse, and came so fierce vpon our menne, till they entred into our campe without any resistance, and there were at hande strokes and wastylng with the Spanyardes, and in a good space coulde not gette them out, killng many of them whiche were so bolde to enter: and in this sorte they fought foure howers, before they coulde make way among

A.

their

A reckning  
made before the  
holle.

Battyle.

their enemies. And then the *Indians* began to faynt, seying so many dead on theyr side, and the greates woundes they had, and that they coulde kill none of the *Christians*: yet the battayle ceased not till it drew neare night and then they retyred. Whereof *Cortes* and his *Souldiers* were exceeding gladde, for they were fully weryed with killyng of *Indians*, so that all that nighte our men triumphed with more ioy than feare, considering that the *Indians* fought not by night, they slepte and toke their rest at pleasure, whiche they had not done til that tyme, but alwayes kept bothe watche and warde.

The *Indians* finding many of their hoste missyng, yet they would not yelde themselves as ouercome, as after did appere. They coulde not well tell howe many were slayne, nor yet our men had leasure to count them.

*Cortes*  
was a pain  
full man.

The next day in the morning *Cortes* wente forth to runne the fieldes as he had done before, leauing halfe his menne to keepe the campe, and because he shoulde not be espied he departed before day, & burned aboute .x. townes, and sacked one towne, whiche was of three thousande houses, in the whiche were founde but fewe folke of fight, bycause the moste of them were gone to their campe. After the spoyle, he set fire on the towne and came his way to his campe with a great pray by none time. The enemies pursued thinkyng to take away their pray, and followed them into the camp, where they fought sup. honres and could not kill one *Spaniarde*, although many of their side were slaine: for euen as they were many and stood on a throng togither, the ordinance made a wonderfull spoyle among them, so that they left off fighting, and the victorie remayned for our men. The *Indians* thought that the *Spaniards* were inchaunted bycause their arrowes coulde not hurte them.

The next day followyng, the four Captaynes sente three

A strange  
presente.

three seuerall things in present to *Cortes*, and the messengers that brought them sayd: Sir behold here five slaves, and if thou be that rigorous God that eatest mans flesh and blood, eate these whiche we bring vnto thee, and we will bring thee more. And if thou be the gentle and make God, beholde here *frankincense* and feathers. And if thou be a mortal man, take here soule, bread, & cherries.

*Cortes* answered, that both he and his were mortal men euen as they were. And because that alwayes he had vsed to tell them trouth, wherfore did they vse to tell him lies, and likewise to flatter him, for he desired to be their friende, aduising them not to be madde and stubborne in their opinion, for if they so did, assuredly they shoulde receiue great hurte and dammage. Likewise (quoth he) it is apparant vnto you how many of your side are slayne without the losse of one of mine, and with this answer sent them away. Notwithstanding the answer sent, there came aboute .10000. of them euen to *Cortes* his campe to proue their *Cozelettes*, as they had done the day before, but they returned with broke pates. Here is to be noted, that although the first day the whole host of *Indians* came to combat with our men, & finally all they came to fight, yet the next day they did not so, but euery seueral captaine by himselfe, for to deuise the better the traualle & paynes equally among them: & because that one should not disturbe another through the multitude, considering that they should fight but with a few, & in a narrow place, & for this consideration, their battayles were more fresher & stronger, for eche captaine did contend who should do most valiantly, for to get honour, & especially in killyng one *Spaniarde*, for they thought that all their hurtcs shoulde be satisfied with the death of one *Spaniarde*, or taking one prisoner.

Likewyse is to be considered, the strangeness of their battayle, for not withstanding their controuersie

R. y.

all

Indian po-  
lice.

all those fiftene dayes that they were there, whether they fought or no. The *Indians* sente vnto the *Spanyarden* cakes of bycade, *Gynnea* cockes and *Cherries*. But this polycie was not to giue them that meate for good will, but onely to espie and see what hurte was done amongst them, and also to see what feare or stomache they had to procede: but the *Spanyarden* fell not into that reckenyng, for the espies of *Tlaxcallan* sayde, that none had fought wth them but certayne outlawes and knaues called *Otamies*, who lyued as vagaboundes without a Lorde or other ruler: And that they were theues, who had theyr abyding behinde a hill, whiche they poynted vnto wth theyr hande.

### Hoy Cortez cut off the handes of fiftie Indian espies.

**T**he next day after these presentes were sente vnto them as Goddes, whiche was the sixte of September, there came to the Campe fiftie *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, whiche seemed after theyr softe honest menne, and gaue vnto Cortes bread, cherries, & *Gynnea* cockes, as they ordinarily vsed to do, enquiring how all his *Spaniardes* did and what they meant to doe, and whether they stood in necessitie of any thing. And after this communication they went vp and downe the camp, gasing and beholding the horses, armour and artillery, and seemed amased to see such things. But the effect of their coming was the office of espies.

*Teuche* of *Zempoallan* marking these things, who being of a childe brought vp in wars, by reason wherof he was expert and wise, came vnto Cortes, saying, Sir it semeth not well, y these *Tlaxcaltecas* wander vp & downe your campe behol

The good  
advice of  
a friende.

beholding the entrance and going out of the same, to beholde likewise the fortitude and weakenesse of youre power, I like it not: It may please you to make enquire whether they be espies or no. Cortes hauing heard his tale, gaue him hartie thanks for his good aduice, yea and maruelled, that neyther he himselfe, nor none of his *Spanyarden* had noted the thing, the *Indians* hauing so many dayes come vnto them after this sort, yea and that only *Indian* of *Zempoallan* had considered it.

Howe the originall cause was not bycause *Teuch* was more wise than the *Christians*, but by reason that hee had seene and heard those *Indians* commune with the subtiles of *Iztacmixilitan* to feele their mindes, and wth craft and subtiltie to obteyne their desire: whereby Cortes vnderstode that those fellows came not to any good purpose: he apprehended that *Indian* whiche stood nexte vnto him, and hauing him alone from his fellows, by his interpreters examined him effectually, who incontinent confessed that he was a spy, and that his coming thither was to view the way how to enter their Campe for to spoyle and burne their Tentes: and for so much as they hadde proued fortune all the houres of the day, and all happened contrary to their desire, against their ancient fame and glory which they hadde obteyned by noble exploytes in warres, they now meant to proue their success by night, hoping of better fortune: and also bycause their souldiers shoulde not feare the Horses, with the darkenesse of the night, nor the blowes or stripes of the bright swordes, nor yet the fire and terrible noyse of the Ordnance: and that Captaine *Xicotencatl* was already appointed for that enterpryse, with prouision of manye thousand souldiers which lay in ambush in a vale behind certayne hilles, right ouer against their Campe.

After this confession taken, Cortes full prudently comma

A. 14,

maune

Confessio.

A good  
correction.

maunded to take also the fencerall confessions of other sours or spues, who likewise confessed that they were all espies, vppon whose confessions they were al fittie taken prisoners, and iudgements giuen, that their one hande should be cut off, which was forthwith executed, and then were returned to their Camp, signifying vnto them that the like iustice should be executed vpon as many espies as they might take. And also they were charged to shew vnto their Generall who had sente them, that both daye and night he would be ready for them.

When the *Flancales* sawe their espies come in this pickle, they were in a maruellous feare, and it seemed a newe world vnto them: they also beleued that our men hadde some familiar spirites that did instructe them of their thoughtes, and with feare of cutting off hands, there went no more espies with victuals.

### An embassage that Mutezuma sente

to *Hernando Cortez*.



A carefull  
Captayne.

When those espies were gone, our men espyed out of our Campe a great multitude of men goe crossing ouer a hill, and it seemed that they were those that the Captayne *Xicotencatl* hadde in ambush: and although it was nere night, *Cortez* determined to followe them, and not to abide their coming, fearing that at the first byunt they mighte set fire among his cotages, as was pretended among them, whiche pretence hauing taken effecte, myght haue bin the destruction of all his men, eyther by the fire or otherwise: wherefore he put all his men in good order, and commaunded the Horsemen to decke the best plates of hys Horses with belles, and then proceeded towards their enemies, who

who durst not abide their coming, hauing intelligence of the cutting of their espies hands, and likewise hearing the new noyse of belles: yet our men folloved them till two houres within night, through many lowen fields of *Centi*, and slew many of the, and then returned with victorie to the Campe.

At that season were come sixe noble men from *Mexico*, who brought two hundred seruing men to wayt vpon them. They brought vnto *Cortez* a present, whiche was a hundred garments of cotten, and some of feathers, and a thousand peces of golde.

Ambassade  
from Mutezuma.

These ambassadors on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, declared, that their Lord would be friende with the Emperoure, and also with him, and his company, requestyng to knowe what tribute he would yearly demaunde, in golde, plate, pearles, slaues, or garments, or of any other thing that was within his kingdome, and the same tribute he would well and truly pay without delay, with such condition, that neyther he nor his company should come vnto *Mexico*. And this request (quoth they) is not only bycause you should bee disturbed to come into hys countrey, but chiefly bycause the waye is euill, barren, and full of euill rockes, whiche lette dothe greue *Mutezuma*, that suche valiant meene as ye be should suffer in his Countrey, lying not in hys power to remedie it.

Excuses.

*Cortez* dyd thankefully receiue the present and gentle offer for the Emperoure King of *Castile*, but (quoth he) my earnest desire is, that you depart not til ye see the end of these warres whiche I haue nowe in hande, bycause ye shall carrie newes thereof to *Mexico*, what I pretende to doe againste these mortall enemies of *Mutezuma*.

When *Cortez* fel into an ague, for which cause he went not

not out to skirmish as he was wonte to do, but only provided to make his Camp strong against certaine flockes of *Indians*, whiche came dayly to skirmish, so that was as ordinarie, as the meate that was wont to be brought to the: but yet these skirmishes no furie of *Indians* were not like to their fierce beginning.

*Cortez* now meaneth to take a purgation for his ague: tooke certayne pilles whiche he broughte with hym from *Cuba*, at such houre of the nighte as is used for purgations.

It happened that the nexte day following, before his purge had wrought, came three great companies of *Indians* to bessege his Camp. It should seme that those *Indians* had some intelligence of his sicknesse, or else thinking with feare that he durst not come abroade as he was wont to doe.

A valiant  
Capitaine.

*Cortez* being aduertised of this newes, withoute any more respect to his purgation taken, tooke his horse, and with his menne came to the encounter, and fought with his enemies all day till it was nighte, and drave them a good way off, to their great hurt, and then returned to his Camp, and the next day following, he purged as fresh, as though it had bin newly taken. I doe not rehearse this for a miracle, but to declare what he passed: for *Hernando Cortez* was a greatesufferer of trauell and paynes, and one of the firste that alway was at any assay or hunt of enemies, and he was not onely a good man of his handes, but also grane in counsell. And hauing thus purged hym selfe, and taken rest those dayes, he watched every night that fell to his lotte, as well as any other souldier, and so continually he used to do. He was not for this the lesse esteemed, but rather muche the more beloued among his men.

How

## How Cortez vvan a great Citie called Zimpanzinco.



In an euening *Cortez* went vp to the toppe of his Tower, and looking rounce aboute hym, he espyed aboute foure leagues distant in the Mountaynes among rocks and proceeding out of a wodde byuers smokes, whereby he ymagined people to be there: he opened not his minde to anye man, but commaunded two hundred of his men to followe hym, and some *Indians* his friendes, and within three or foure houres of the nyghte he toke his journey toward the Mountaynes, being very darke. He had not fully gone a league, when suddaynely appeared the lyknesse of a great Bull whiche ouerthrew them that they could not stirre. The firste Horseman being fallen, they aduysed *Cortez* thereof, who answered, that he shoulde returne wth his Horse to the Campe: and incontinente fell another, *Cortez* commaunded hym the lyke: and when three or foure were fallen, his company retyred, saying, it was an euill token, desiring him to returne and abyde the morning, that they myghte see whether they wente. He answered, saying, yee oughte to gyue no credite to witchcraftes or fantastes, for God, whose cause we take in hande, is aboue all nature: wherefore I will not leaue my pretended journey, for I doe ymagine that of this nyghtes trauell shall come greate ease and pleasure, saying, that the Denill hath in this forme of a Bull appeared, to disturbe vs. He hadde no sooner ended his talke, when his Horse fell likewise: then counsell was taken what was best to be done.

An euill  
Spire appeared.

A courageous  
Capitaine.

It was determined that the Horses which were falle,  
Should



should be returned to the Campe, and that of the residue, each horseman should lead his horse by the bridle, and so proceed on their way, and shortly after the horses were well agayne, but they neuer knewe of what motion they hadde fallen: with the darkenesse of the nyghte they lost their way to the fountaynes, and chanced into a cragged rockie waye, that they thoughte neuer to haue come out thereof.

And after a while that they had gone this euill waye, with their heare standing with very feare, they espyed a little light, and toke the way thither, where they founde a little house, wherein were two women, and those women, with other two women that afterwards they mette, conducted them to the wilderness, where they had espyed the smoke, and before day they sette upon certayne villages, and slew many, yet they burned not those villages, because they should not be perceyued through the light thereof. They receyued thereadysse, that nere at hand were great populations, and sone after he came to *Zumpango*, a towne of twenty thousand houses, as after you appeare by the visitation of Cortes. These inhabitantes beinge vniuersally of this suddayne happe, were taken in their beddes, and came out all naked through the streets to knowe what the great mourning and lamentation meante: at the first entrance many were slayne, but because they made no resistance, Cortes commaunded to cease from killyng, nor yet to take any of their goods, or women.

The feare of these poore inhabitantes was so greate, that they fledde without respect of the father to the child, or husbande to the wyfe, or yet either of house or goods.

Cortes commaunded signes of peace to be made vnto them, and with that they stayed, and before the sunne rising,

rising, the Towne was pacified.

Cortes went vp into a Tower to descry the Countrey, and there espyed a moste greate population: he then demaunded what it was: answer was made that it was called *Tlaxcallan*, and the Townes thereunto apperteyning. When he called his Spanyardes, and sayd vnto them: beholde, what woulde it haue prouoked vs to kyll these poore soules, hauinge yonder so manye enimies: and withoute doyng anye more hurte in that Towne, he wente to a fayre fountayne there at hande, and thither came the Rulers of that Towne, and other foure hundred men withoute weapon, and broughte with them muche victuall, most humbly they besought Cortes to doe them no more hurte, givinge hym likewise greate thanks, that he hadde so fauourablye vsed them, offering both to serue and obey hym, and from that daye forwarde they woulde not onely keepe his friendship, but also trauell with the Lordes of *Tlaxcallan* and others, that they shoulde doe the same. Cortes replied, that sure he was, howe they had foughte agaynst hym before that time, although that nowe they broughte hym meate, yet notwithstandinge he pardoned them, and also receyued them into his seruice and friendship, to the vse of the Emperoure.

With this communication he departed from them, and returned to the Campe verie ioyfull with so good successe, hauinge such a dangerous beginning, with the suddayne fall of their horses, wherein the prophete is fulfilled, whyche sayeth, *Speake not euill of the daye, till it be at an ende.*

They hadde also a greate hope, that those newe friendes woulde be a meane, to cause the *Tlaxcaltecas* to leaue from warre, and to become their friendes.

S. J.

From

From that day forward he commaunded that none of his Campe shoulde doe any hurte to any *Indian*, and certified his men that the same daye his warres were at an ende with that prouince.

### The desire that some of the Spanyardes had to leaue the warres.



When Cortez was returned so ioyfull to his Camp, he founde some of his men discouraged with the suddayne mishappe of the *Hozes*, fearing that likewise some misfortune hadde happened to Cortez, but when they sawe him come well and with victorie, their ioy was great, although true it is that manye of his men were not well pleased, but desired muche to leaue the warres, and to returne to the coast, as they had often requested, but nowe chiefly seeing such a great Countrey, and full of people, who woulde not permitte they abiding there, and they being so fewe in number in the midst among them without hope of succoure, certaynely things to be feared. With this murmuration they thought it good to talke with Cortez, & also to requite him to proceede no further, but returne backe againe to *Pera Cruz*, from whence by little and little they mighte haue intelligence with the *Indians*, and therebyen proceede according to tyme, and that he mighte provide more *Hozes* and men, whiche was the chiefest provision of the warre.

And although some secretly enformed Cortez of this matter, yet he gaue no eare to their talke, but on a night as he came out of his Tower to overlooke the watche, he hearde a loude talke out of one of the *Cotages*, and beganne to hearken what they communication was,

Murmuration.

was: and the matter was, that certaine souldiers sayde these wordes: If our Captayne be madde, and go where he may be slayne, let him goe alone, what neede we to follow him. Cortez hearing this talke, called two of his friendes for witnesse, willing them to harken his souldiers talke, for he that durst speake suche wordes woulde be ready to doe it. Also he hearde others say, what shall our journey be as *Pedro Carboneros* was: who went into *Barbaria* to take *Mozes*, and he and all his were there slayne, wherefore sayde they let vs not follow him but turne in time. It grieved Cortez muche to heare this talke, who would sayne haue corrected them but it was not then tyme, wherefore he determined to leade them with sufferaunce, and spake vnto them as followeth.

### The Oration made by Cortez to his Souldiers.



Differs and louyng friendes, I did chouse you for my fellowes, and ye chose me for your captaine, and all was for the seruice of God, and the augmenting of his holy faith, & also the seruice of our soueraigne Lord the King now Emperour: and next for our owne commoditie, I (as ye haue sene) haue not sayled nor yet displeased ye, nor ye likewise haue otherwise done to me vnto this day. But now I do feelee faintnesse in some, yea and an euill will to goe forward in the warres whiche we haue in hande: but (God be prayd) it is now finished, at the least the ende is vnderstood, what it may be, and also the wealth that may follow, as partely you haue sene, but much without comparisson of that you haue not sene, whiche is a thing that doth excede the greatnesse of our wordes or thoughts.

S. iij.

fear

feare not my louyng fellowes to goe and abide with me, God forbidde that I should thynke, yea or that any shoulde reporte, that feare vereth my company, or else disobedience to their Captaine, whiche is a perpetuall infamie, if we shoulde leaue this Lande, this Warre, this way already made, and returns as some doe desire, shall we then lyue at rest, loytring as well and losse folke: God forbidde, that euer oure nation shoulde haue suche a name, haupng warres of honour. And whether (I pray) shall the Dre goe where he shall not helpe to ploughe the grounde: doe ye thinke peraduenture that ye shall finde lesse people, worse armed, and not farre from the sea? I doe assure you, that in so thynkyng ye seeke after fine fete for a Catte, yea and you shall trauell no way, but that you shall meete some euill passage (as the Prouerbe sayth) yea and farre worse than this that we haue in hande. For why (God be thanked) since we came into this Countrey, we neuer wanted meate, friendes, neyther money nor honour. For now ye see that ye are esteemed more than menne, yea as persons immortall, and Goddes, if it mighte be spoken, for these Indians beyng so many and without number, and so armed as ye your selues affirme, yet can they not kyll one of vs: and as touchyng their weapons, you see that they are not poplond, as the Indians of Cartagena, Vergana, and the Caribez doe vse, whiche haue killed many of our nation therewith, dying as madde menne ragyng.

And if there were no other cause than this onely, you shoulde not seeke others with whom to warre: I doe confesse that the Sea is somewhat farre from vs, and neuer Spaniarde travelled so farre into the mygne lande of India, as we haue done: for why, now we leaue the Sea a hundred and fiftie myles behinde vs, nor yet euer

any hath come so neare Mexico where *Mutezuma* dothe reside, from whome suche messages and Treasure we haue receyued. It is now but thre score myles thither, and the worst is passe, as you doe see, if we come thither, as I truste in Iesus we shall, then shall we not onely gette and winne for the Emperoure oure naturall Lorde a riche Lande, greate Kingdomes, infinite Vassalles, but lykewyse for oure selues muche riches, as Golde, Silver, Pretious stones, Pearles, and other commoditie, and besides thys, the greatest honour that euer any nation did obtayne. For loke howe great a King this is, howe large his countrey is, and what greete multitude of people he hath, so muche the more is our glory.

Besides all this, we are bounde as Christians to exalte and enlarge oure Catholyke fayth, as we haue begonne, abolishing Idolatrie and blasphemie agaynst our Sauour Christe, takyng away the bloody Sacrifice and eatyng of mannes fleshe, so horrible and agaynst nature, and many other greivous sinnes so muche here used, for the foulness whereof I name them not.

And therefore (I saye) feare you not yet doubt you the victorie, consideryng that the worst is passe. Of late we overcame the Indians of *Tabasco*, and also an hundred and fiftie thousande this other daye of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, who haue the onely name of breakers of Lyons lawes: so with Gods helpe you shal be Conquerors of the reste, if ye saynt not and solowe me.

All his company was pleased and contente with this comfortable exhortation, and those that were faynt harted recovered strength. And his valiaunt Souldiers recovered double courage, & those who hated him began to honour him: and in conclusion he departed from thence exceeding

exceeding welbeloued of all his company. But all his former talke was very needefull as time then requyred: for why? some of his (as you haue heard) were desirous to returne: likewise vpon dissention, rebellion mought haue growen, and he forced to returne to the sea coaste, where all his toyle and trauell taken had bene lost.

### Hovv Xicotencatl came for Embas

*adour to Cortez his Campe.*



Cortez had not so soone made an ende of his talke, when Xicotencatl came entryng into the campe, who was chiefe and generall captayne in *Tlaxcallan*, & of all the warres: He brought in his company fiftie persons of auctoritie to keepe him company. They approached neare where Cortez was, and saluted eche other according to the vse of their countrey. Their salutations ended and the parties setten downe, Xicotencatl began the talke, saying: Sir I am come on mine owne behalfe and also of my fellow Captaine, and Lieutenant *Maximela*, and in the name of many other noble personages, and finally in the name of the whole state and common weale of *Tlaxcallan*, to beseeche and pray you to admitte vs into your friendshippe, and to yelde our selues and countrey vnto your King, craying also at your hande pardon for our attempt in takyng armes agaynst you, wee not knowyng what you were, nor what you sought for in our countrey. And where we presumed to resist and defende your entrance, we did it as agaynst strangers whome we knewe not, and suche menne as we had neuer here tofore sene: and fearyng also that you had bene friends to *Muteczuma*, who is and alwayes hath bene our mortall enemy. And these things wee suspected, sayng *Muteczuma* his seruants

to

in your company, or else we imagined that you were comen to vsurpe our libertie, the whiche of tyme with out memozy we haue possessed, as our forefathers did with the shedyng of their bloud. And of our owne natural prouision we wante cotten wolles to clothe vs, wherefore in tyme past we wente as naked as we were borne, but some of vs vsed other clothe to couer our nakednesse, made of the leaues of the tree called *Mel*: and Salte also wee wanted, of which two things so necessarie to humayne lyfe, *Muteczuma* had greate store, and other our enemies, with whome we are rounde aboute emiured. And lykelike where wee haue no golde stones of value, or any riche thyng to barter with them, of very pure necessitie many times we are forced to sell our owne bodies to buy these wantes. And this extremitie (sayde he) wee needed not, if that we woulde be subiectes and vassalles to *Muteczuma*. But yet had we rather all in generall to ende our lyues, than wee woulde putte oure selues in suche subication, for we thynke our selues as valiaunt menne in courage as our forefathers were, who alwayes haue resisted agaynst him and his grandfather, who was as mightie as now he is: wee woulde also haue withstode you and your force, but wee coulde not, although we proued all our possibilitie by night and day, and found your strength inuincible, and we no lucke agaynst you. Therefore sithence our fate is such, we had rather be subiect vnto you than vnto any others. For wee haue knowen and hearde by the *Zempoallanezes*, that you doe no euill, nor came not to bere any, but were moste balliaunt and happie, as they had sene in the warres, beyng in your companie. For whiche consideration, we truste that our libertie shall not be diminished, but rather our owne persons, wyues, and familie better preserved, and our houses and husbandry not destroyed.

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destroyed. And in sume of all his talke, the teares trickling downe his cheekes, he besought Cortes to wey that *Tlaxcallan* did neuer at any tyme reknowledge any superiour King or Lorde, nor at any time had commen any person among them to commaunde, but onely he, whome they did voluntarily eleete and chose as their superiour and ruler.

It can not be tolde, howe muche Cortes reioyced with this Embassage, and to see such a mighty Captayne come vnto his campe to submitte himselfe: and also it was a matter of great wayght to haue that Cittie in subiection, for the enterprize whiche he had in hande, whereby he fully made an account that the warres were at an ende, to the great contentation of him and his company, and with great fame and reputation among the *Indians*.

Cortes with a mery and louing countenance answered, laying to their charge the hurte and damage whiche he had receyued in their countrey, bycause they refused at the firste to harken vnto him, and quietly to suffer him to enter into their countrey, euen as he had required and desired by his Messengers of *Zeampoallan* sente vnto them from *Zacatlan*. Yet at this notwithstanding, he did both pardon the kylling of his two horses, the assaultyng of him in the highe way, and the greates lies whiche they had moste craftily vsed with hym, (for where as they themselves fought agaynst him, yet they layde the faulte to others) likewise their pretence to murder him in the ambush prepared for him, (enticing him to come to their Cittie,) without makyng firste defiance according to the law of armes.

These causes notwithstanding, he did lowingly receyue their offer made in subiection to the Emperour, and in this sorte departed, saying, that shortly hee would be with him in *Tlaxcallan*, and presently he coulde not goe  
with

with him for the dispatche of the Ambassadors of *Mutezuma*.

### The receyuing and entertaynement of Cortes in *Tlaxcallan*.



He grieved muche the Ambassadors of *Mutezuma*, to see *Xicotencates* in the Spanishe Campe, and the offer made vnto Cortes in the behalfe of his King, of their persons, Cittie and goddes, aduising Cortes to giue no credite vnto them, for all their saying (quoth they) is treason and lies, and to the content to locke you vp in their Cittie.

Cortes answered, that although their aduise were true, yet he did determine to go thither, for that he feared them lesse in the towne than in the fildes. They hearyng this answer and determination, besought him to giue vnto one of them licence to returne vnto *Mexico*, to aduertise *Mutezuma* of all that was past, with an answer to their Ambassage, promising within sixe dayes to haue newes from *Mexico*, and till then prayed him not to departe with his Campe.

Cortes graunted their request, and abode there the time appointed, expectyng the answer. In this meane season came many of *Tlaxcallan* to the camp, some brought *Guinea* cockes, other brought bread and Cherries, and gaue it for nothyng in comparison, with mery countenance, desirying them to goe home with them vnto their houses.

The sixth day the *Mexican* came, according to promise, and brought vnto Cortes tenne Jewelles of Golde, bothe  
riche and well wrought, and a fiftene thousand garments of Cotten exceeding gallant, and moste earnestly besought him  
A riche  
Present.

hym on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, that he shoulde not daunger himselfe in trustyng to the wordes of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, who were so poore & with necessitie they would robbe him of the thyngs whiche his mayster had sente him, yea and lykewise murder him, knowyng of the friendshippe betwene his mayster and him: likewise all the chiefeest Lordes of *Tlaxcallan*, came to intreate hym to goe with them to *Tlaxcallan* where he shoulde be cherished, lodged, and well provided. For it was a greate dishonour and shame for them to permitte suche personages to abyde in suche vyle cotages as they were in. And if (quoth they) you truste vs not, that then wee are ready to gyue you for your securitie what soeuer gages you shall demaunde: notwithstanding they dyd bothe sweare and faithfully promise, that they might safely goe with them, saying also that the Othe and fayth of theyr common weale shoulde neuer be broken for all the goodes in the worlde.

Whereupon *Cortez* seying the good will of so many Gentlemen his newe friends, and lykewise the *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, of whome he had good credite, did so importune him and assure him of his goyng, he commaunded his sardage to be laden and also his ordinaunce, and departed towarde *Tlaxcallan*, whiche was fife leagues from that place, with as good order as it had bene to a battayle: And at the Tower where he had pitched his campe, he lefte certayne Crosses for a memorie, with a greate heape of Stones, and entred into *Tlaxcallan* the eightenth of September. There came out such a multitude of people to see him and to meete him in the way, that it was a wonder to see.

He was lodged in the greatest temple, which had many great and sayre lodgyngs, sufficient for hym and all his companie, except the *Indians* his friends which were lodged

Entrance  
into Tlax-  
callan.

lodged in other Temples. He set certayne limittes, out of the whiche he commaunded straightely that none of his company shoulde passe, vpon payne of death, and also commaunded that they shoulde take nothing, but what shoulde be giuen them. His commaundement was well obserued, for none presumed to goe a Roanes cast without his licence. The *Indian* Gentlemen shewed greate pleasure and curtesie to the strangers, and provided the of all things necessarie, and manye of them gaue theyr daughters vnto them, in token of true friendshippe, and likewise to haue fruite of their bodies, to be brought vpon for the warres, beyng such valiant men.

This Countrey lyked well our men, and the greate loue of the people. They abode there at their pleasure twenty dayes, in whiche time they did procure to knowe particularly the estate of their common weale and secretes, and also were sufficiently instructed of the estate of *Mutezuma*.

### The description of Tlaxcallan.



*Tlaxcallan* is properly in the *Indian* tong as much to say, as bread well baked, for there is more grayne called *Centli* gathered, than is in all y<sup>e</sup> prouince round about.

In times past the Citie was called *Tlaxcallan*, that is to say, a balley betwixt two hills. It is a greate Citie, and planted by a riuer side, whiche springeth out of *Atlancatepec*, and watreth the most parte of that prouince, and from thence issueth out into the South sea, by *Zacatullan*. This Citie hath foure goodly Streets, whiche are called *Tepericpac*, *Ocotelulco*, *Tizatlan*, *Quiahuitlan*. The firste Street standeth on hygh vpon a hill, farre from the riuer, whiche maye be aboute  
T. iij. halfe

halfe a league, and bycause it standeth on a hill, it is called *Tepeticpac*, that is to say, a hyll, and was the firste population which was founded there on high, bycause of the warres.

Another stræte was scituate on the hill side towarde the Riuer, bycause at the building thereof, there were many pynetrees: they named it *Ocotelulco*, which is to say, a pine apple plot. This stræte was beautifull, and firste inhabited of all the Citie, and there was the chiefest Market place, where all the buying and selling was used, and that place they called *Tianquiztli*: in that stræte was the dwelling house of *Maxirca*. Along the Riuer side in the playne standeth another stræte called *Tizatlan*, bycause there is muche lyme and chalker. In this stræte dwelled *Xicotencatl*, Captayne generall of the common weale. There is another stræte named by reason of the brackish water, *Quiahuitlan*, but since the Spanyardes came thither, all those buildings are almost altered, after a better fashon, and built with stone. In the plaine by the riuer side, standeth the Colone house, and other offices, as in the Citie of *Venice*. This *Tlaxcallan* was gouerned by noble and riche men: they vse not that one alone should rule, but rather flye from that order, as from tyrannie.

In their warres (as I haue sayde before) they haue foure Captaynes, whiche gouerneth eache one stræte, of the whiche foure, they do elect a Captayne generall. Also there are other Gentlemen that are vndercaptaynes, but a small number. In the warres they vse their standerde to be carried behynde the army, but when the battayle is to be fought, they place the standerde where all the hoste may see it, and he that commeth not incontinent to his auntient, payeth a penaltie. Their standerd hath the two crossebowe arrowes set thereon, whiche they esteeme as the

the reliques of their auncetors. Thys standerd two olde souldiers and valiant menne, being of the chiefest Captaynes, haue the charge to carrie, in the which standerde an abuson of southsaying, eyther of losse or victorie is noted. In this order they shote one of these arrowes against the first enemies that they meete, and if with that arrow they doe eyther kill or hurte, it is a token that they shall haue the victorie, and if it neyther kill nor hurt, then they assuredly beleue that they shall lose the field.

This prouince or Lordship of *Tlaxcallan*, hath 28. Villages and townes, wherein is conteyned 150000. householdes. They are men well made, and good warriors, the lyke are not among the *Indians*. They are very poore, and haue no other riches, but only the grayne or corne called *Cenli*, and with the gayne and profite thereof, they doe both cloth themselves, and paye their tributes, and provide all other necessaries. They haue many market places, but the greatest and most used dayly, standeth in the stræte of *Ocotelulco*, whiche is so famous, that 30000. persons come thither in one day to buy and sell, whiche is to say, changing one thing for another, for they know not what money meaneth.

They sell such things in that market, as here we vse, eal thing vnto them needeful to eate, and cloth for themselves, and necessaries for building.

They haue all kinde of good policie in the Citie: there are Goldsmithes, setherdgers, Barbores, hotchouses, and potters, who make as good earthen vessel, as is made in *Spayne*. The earth is fat and fruitefull for corne, fruite, and pasture, for among the pine trees groweth so muche grasse, that our men seede their cattell there, whiche in *Spayne* they can not do.

Within two leagues of that Citie standeth a rounde hill of six miles of beight, and five and forty miles in compasse,

A strange  
contradiction.



compasse, and is now called Saint Bartholmeues hill, where the snow freseth. In times past they called that hill *Matealcucie*, who was their God for water. They had also a God for wyne, who was named *Ometochtli*, for the great ozonkenesse whiche they vled. Their chiefeest God was called *Camaxtlo*, and by another name *Mixco-uail*, whose Temple stode in the streete of *Oxetelulco*, in the whiche temple there was sacrificed some yeaeres a boue eyghte hundred persons. In *Tlaxcallan* they spake thre languages, that is to saye, *Nahuatl*, whiche is the courtly speeche, and chiefeest in all the land of *Mexico*: another is called *Otomir*, which is most commonly vled in the Villages: There is one onely streete that spake *Pinome*, which is the grossest speache. There was also in that Citie a common Playe, where fellows lye in yrons; and all things which they held for sinne, was there corrected.

CorreAis.

It chanced at that time a Colonel man to steale from a Spaniard a little golde, whereof Cortes complayned to *Maxicca*, who incōtinent made such enquirie, y the offender was found in *Chalolla*, whiche is another Citie fyue leagues from thence: they brought the prisoner with the golde, and deliuered him to Cortes, to doe with him hys pleasure: Cortes woulde not accepte him, but gaue hym thanks for his diligence: then was he carryed wpth a Cryer before hym, manifestyng hys offence, and in the market place vppon a scaffold: they brake hys shynkes with a cudgell: our men marvelled to see suche straunge Justice.

The

## The aunsvvere of the Tlaxcaltecas touching the leauing of their Idolles.



When Cortes saw that these people executed Justice, and liued in Religion after theyr manner, although abhominable and diuclish: and alwayes when he desired them to leaue off from their Idolatrie and that cruell vanitie, in killing and eating men sacrificed, considering that none among them how holly soeuer he were, would willingly be slayne & eaten, required them to beleue in the most true God of the Chrystians, who was the maker of Heauen and earth, the giuer of rayne, and creator of all things that the earthe produceth only for the vse and profite of mortall man.

A godly  
periuvaſiō.

Some of them answered, that they woulde gladly do it, onely to pleasure him, but they feared that the commons woulde arise and stone them. Others sayde, that it was an hard matter to vnbelaue that which their forefathers had so long beleued, and that it shoulde be a cause to condemne their forefathers and themselves.

Others sayde, that it mighte be in time they woulde conuert, seeing the order of the Christian Religion, and vnderstanding the reasons and causes to turne Christians, and likewise percepyng thoroughly the manner and life of the Christians, with their lawes and customs: and as for warlike seates, they were satisfied, & had seene suche tryall, that they helde them for men inuincible in that poynte, and that their God did help them.

Cortes promised them, that shortly he woulde bring them suche men, as shoulde instruct and teache them, and then they shoulde see which way was best, with the greatesse and fruite that they shoulde seele. They accepting that

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that councell which he like a friende had giuen them, and for as much as presently it could not be brought to passe by reason of his journey to *Mexico*, he desired them, that the Temple wherein he was lodged, shoulde be made a church for him and his company, and if it pleased them, they mighte also come to see and heare their diuine seruice.

The *Indians* graunted to his request, and dayly came among them all the time of their abode there, and some came and dwelte with the *Spanyardes*, but the chiefest friende was Captayne *Maxixca*, who neuer went from *Cortez*.

### The discord betweene the

*Mexicans and Tlaxcaltecas.*



*Cortez* being thoroughly satisfied of their hartie good wylles, he demaunded of them the estate and riches of *Mutezuma*; They exalted him greatly, as men that had proued his force. And as they affirmed, it was nere a hundred yeares that they maintained warre with him and his father *Axaiaca*, and others his *Uncles* and *Grandfathers*. And saide also, that the golde and treasure of *Mutezuma*, was without number, and his power and dominion ouer all the lande, and his people innumerable: for (quoth they) he toyneth sometime two hundred thousand men, yea and three hundred thousande for one battayle. And if it pleased hym, he woulde make as manie men double, and thereof they were good witnesse, bycause they had manie times fought with the.

*Maxixca* desired that *Cortez* should not aduenture himselfe into the power of the men of *Culhua*, wherat some of the *Spanyardes* feared and suspected euill of the matter.

*Cortez*

*Cortez* tolde him, that notwithstanding all those things whiche they had tolde him, he was fully minded to goe to *Mexico*, to visit *Mutezuma*, wishing him to aduise hym what he mought do, or bring to passe for them with *Mutezuma*, for he woulde willingly do it, for the curtesie shewen vnto him, and that he beleued *Mutezuma* woulde graunt him any lawfull request.

Then they besought him to procure for them a licence to haue cotten wooll and salte out of his Countrey, for (sayd they) in time of the warres we stood in great neede thereof, and that they had none but suche as they boughte by stealth of the *Comercans* verie deere, in change of golde: for *Mutezuma* had made a straight lawe, whereby all suche as carried anye of those commodities to them shoulde be slayne. Then *Cortez* enquired the cause of their disorder and euill neyghbohd. They answered, that their griefes were olde, and cause of libertie: but as the *Ambassadors* did affirme, and *Mutezuma* after ward declare, it was not so, but for other matter farre differente. So that eache partye alleadging their causes, they reasons were, that the yong manne of *Mexico* and *Culhua* dyd exercise and bring them vnto in warlike seates nere vnto them, and vnder their noses, to their greate annoyance, whereas they moughte haue gone to *Panuco* and *Tecantepec*, bys frontiers a farre off.

Likewise they pretence was, to haue warre wth them being they neyghboys, onely to haue of them to sacrifice to their Gods: so that when they would make any sollemne feast, then would they send to *Tlaxcallan* for men to sacrifice, with such a great army, that they might take as many as they needed for that yeare: for it is most certayne if *Mutezuma* woulde, in one daye hee moughte haue broughte them in subjection, and slayne them

*A. y.*

all,

all, ioyning his whole power in effect: but his purpose was, to keepe them for a pray to hunt withall, for men to be sacrificed to his Goddes, and to eat, so that he would neuer sende but a small armye againste them: whereby it did chance that sometimes those of *Tlaxcallan* did ouercome.

*Cortez* receyued great pleasure to heare these discordes betwixt his newe friendes and *Mutezuma*, whiche was a thing fitte for his purpose, for by that meanes he hoped to bring them all vnder subiection, and therefore he vsed the one and the other secretely, to build his pretence vpon a good foundation.

At all this communication there stode by certayne Indians of *Vexozinco*, whiche had bin against our men in the late warres, the which Towne is a Citie as *Tlaxcallan*, and ioyned with them in league of friendship against *Mutezuma*, who oppressed them in like effect of slaughter for their Temples of *Mexico*, and they also yelded themselves to *Cortez* for vassals to the Emperoure.

### The solemne receyuing of the Spaniardes into Chololla.



The Ambassadors of *Cortez* seeing the determination of *Cortez* to procede on his iourney towarde *Mexico*, they besought him to goe by *Chololla*, whiche stode five leagues from thence, certifying that *Chololla* was a Citie in their friendship, and that there he might at his pleasure abide the resolution of their Lord *Mutezuma*, whether it were his pleasure that he should enter into *Mexico* or no. This request was onely to haue him from thence, for truly it grieved much *Mutezuma* of the new friendshippe and league, fearyng

fearyng that thereof would some great displeasure happen towarde him, and therefore procured all that was possible to haue him from thence, sending him alwayes presents to allure him to come fro thence the sooner. But when the *Tlaxcaltecas* saw that he would goe to *Chololla*, it grieved them much, saying vnto *Cortez*, that *Mutezuma* was a liar and fraudelent person, and that *Chololla* was a cittie his friende but not constant, and it mighte happen that they would displease him, haung him within their Citie, wisshyng him to looke wel to himself: And if needes he would goe thither, yet they would provide 20000. men to keepe him company.

A gentle offer.

The women that were giuen to the Spaniardes at their first entrance, had vnderstandyng of a snare that was layde to murder them at their commyng to *Chololla*, by meanes of one of the foure Captaynes, who had a sister which discovered the thing to *Pedro de Aluaredo* who kepte hir. *Cortez* incontinent called that Captayne out of his house, and caused him to be choked, and so was the matter kepte close that his death was neuer known, whereby the snare was vndone without any rumour. It was a wonder that all *Tlaxcallan* had not made an vprore seeing one of their greatest Captaynes dead. Where was inquirie made of that snare, and the truth being known, it was approued that *Mutezuma* had prepared 30000. Souldiers who where in campe for that purpose within two leagues of the Citie, and that the streates in *Chololla* were stopped vp with timber and rayles, and the toppes of their houses provided with stones, whiche houses are made with playne roffes or cotties, and the highe way stopped vp, & other false bywayes made with deepe holes pitched full of stakes very sharpe, to spoyle and lame both horse and man: these engines were finely couered with sande, and coulde not be espied, although the skoute had

Correction of treason.

W. iij.

gone

gone befoze on foote to discouer. The matter also was very suspitious, for these Citizens of *Chololla* had not at any time come to visite hym, or sente any presente vnto him as others had done.

Whereupon *Cortez* consulted with the *Tlaxcaltecas* to sende certayne messengers to *Chololla*, to request their Captaynes and rulers to come vnto him, who did their message accordingly, and the *Chollans* would not come, but yet they sent thre or foure persons to excuse them, saying y they were not well at ease, praying him to signifie vnto them what he would haue: the *Tlaxcaltecas* enformed *Cortez* that those messengers were menne of small credite and of lowe degre, wisshyng hym not to departe till they Captayne came. In this sorte *Cortez* returned they messengers backe agayne, with commaundement written, declaring that if they came not within thre dayes, hee would proclayme them rebelles and his vtter enemies, and as suche would be chasten them with all rigour.

When this commaundement came vnto them, the next day following came many Lordes and Captaynes to make their excuse, saying, that the *Tlaxcaltecas* were their enemies, and that through them they coulde not lye in safetic: lyke wise they knewe of the euill repozte whiche they had made agaynst them: wherefoze they besought him to giue no credite vnto them, for why, they were both false and cruell menne: beseechyng him also to goe with them to their Citie, and then he shoulde see that all was but a mockery that had bene tolde him, and they his good and faythfull friends: and laste of all they offered to serue him as tributary subiectes.

*Cortez* commaunded that all this talke should be sette downe in wytyng befoze the Notary and his interpreters, and so toke his leaue of the Citizens of *Tlaxcallan*. *Maxicca* wepte at his departure, but there wente in his

pany a hundreth thousande men of warre: there were among them many *Marchantes* that wente to barter for Salte and Spantels.

*Cortez* commaunded that those hundreth thousande men should go alwayes by theselues: that day he reached not to *Chololla*, but abode by a broke side, and thither came many of the citie, to desire him that the *Tlaxcaltecas* should not doe any hurte in their countrey: whereupon *Cortez* commaunded them to returne backe againe all sauing, 5000. or there aboute, much against their willes. But they still required him to take good heede of those euill folke, who be not (quoth they) men of warre, but yedlers, and men of double harte: and they of their partes would be very loth to leaue him in any peril or daunger, hauing giuen themselves to be his true and faithfull friends.

The next day in the morning the Spaniards came to *Chololla*, and there came out nere, 10000, *Indians* to receyue him with their Captaynes in good order: many of them presented vnto him bread, soule, & roses, and euery Captayne as he approached welcomed *Cortez*, and then stode aside that the reste in order mighte come vnto him. And when he came entring into the Citie, all the other Citizens receyued him, marueling to see such men & horses.

After all this came out all the religious menne, as Priests, and Ministers to the idols (who were many and strange to beholpe,) and all were clothed in white lyke vnto surplises, and hemmed with Cotten threde: some brought instrumentes of musicke like vnto Cornettes, other brought instrumets made of bones, other an instrumet like a ketel covered with skin, some brought chafing dishes of coales with perfumes, others brought idols covered, and finally they all came singing in their language, which was a terrible noise, and drew nere *Cortez* and his company, sending them with swete smells in their sensers.

With

With this pompe and solemnitie (whiche truely was great) they brought him into the Cittie, and lodged him in a house where was rounge inough for him and his, and gaue vnto eche of them a Gynnea cocke, and his *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, *Zempoallan* and *Iztacmiltitan*, were prouided by themselves.

### The conspiracie of the Cholollans

to kill Cortes and his men.



**A**t that night following Cortes was vigilant with all his company, for bothe in the way and in the towne they had found some of the things wherof they had bene aduised befoze in *Tlaxcallan*, and although their firſte preſent was a Gynnea cocke to eche mans allowance, other thre dayes following they gaue them nothing almoſt to eate, and very ſeldome the Captaynes came to viſite them, whercof Cortes had great ſuſpition.

And in this meane while the Embaſſadours of *Mutezuma* entreated him to leaue of his iourney to *Mexico*, al- leaging that their great King would die in beholding their bearded & geſture: other times they ſayde that there was no paſſage, other times they would ſay that they wanted wherewith to ſuſtaine them. And ſeyng them fully and in every reſpecte answered to all theſe payntes, they cauſed the *Tolmies* menne to enſormenthem, that where *Mutezuma* his abiding was, were monſtrous *Lep- ſardes*, *Eigers*, *Lions*, and many other fierce beaſtes, the whiche when *Mutezuma* commaunded to be loſed, were ſufficient to plucke in peeces, and to deſtroy thoſe ſelwe ſtraungers: and ſeyng that all theſe pollicies auayled not, they conſulted with the Captaynes and chiefe Cittizens to murder

murder the Chriſtians. And bycauſe they ſhoulde ſo byng it to paſſe, the Embaſſadours prompſed the Ci- tizens greate rewardes on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, and preſented to theyr generall a drumme of Golde, and pro- miſed to byng the thirtie thouſande ſouldiers whiche lay aboute two leagues from thence: the *Cholollans* promp- ſed to deliuer them bounde hande and foote. But yet they would not conſente that thoſe Soldiers of *Culhua* ſhould come into their Cittie, fearyng that they (vnder colour of friendſhippe) would remayne with the towne, for why, the *Mexicans* had vſed the lyke ſeyght. And in this ſort they with one bolte meante to kill two byrdes at a ſhote, for they thought to take the Spaniardes ſleepyng, and then to remayne with the Towne of *Chololla*. Alſo it was determined, that if all theſe pretences coulde not be brought to paſſe, that then they ſhould be conducted a con- trary way to *Mexico* vpon the left hande, in the whiche were many daungerous places, bycauſe the way was all ſandy, with many ſlucce, ditches, and holes of thre ſadome deepe, meanyng there to mæte them and to carry them bounde to *Mutezuma*: this matter being fully agreed, they beganne to take away theyr houſeholde ſtuffe, and to carry it with their wiues and chyldren by into the moun- taines.

And our men beyng alſo ready to departe from thence for theyr ſmall chæere with euill countenance, it happe- ned, an *Indian* woman (beyng wiſe to one of the principa- leſt Cittizens,) hauing ſome affection to the bearded men, ſayde vnto *Marina*, that ſhe ſhoulde abide there with hyr, for that ſhe loued hir well, and that it would grieue hir that ſhe ſhould be ſlayne with hir maſter. *Marina* diſ- mulpyng the matter, procured to knowe what they were that had conſpired the thing, and hauing knowledge ther- of, ſhe ranne to ſeek *Aguillar* hir fellow interpreter, and

x.

bothe

Many pe-  
rils.

Helpe from  
God.

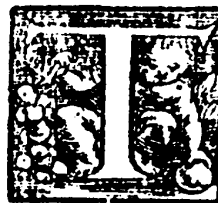
both together enforced Cortes of the whole matter.

Cortes hearyng this newes, slepte not, but incontinent examined two of the Citizens, who confessed the thyng euen as it passed, and as the Gentlewoman had declared: whereupon Cortes stayed his iourney two dayes, to mollifie the matter and to disapoynt them of that euill pretended purpose, and also to correcte their offences, he commaunded their rulers to be called, saying that he had to talke with them, and when they were comen he requyred them neyther to vse lies nor deceptes with hym, but rather lyke menne to desie him to the fiede and battayle, for (quoth hee) honest menne vse rather to fighte than to lie. They all answered that they were his friendes and seruitours, and no liars, and that it mighte please him to shewe them when he woulde departe, for they woulde goe armed to keepe hym company. He answered that he woulde departe the nexte day follovyng, and that he required but ongly some of their slaves to carry his sardage, because his owne *Tamemez* or Carriars were wearied: lykelike he requyred some prouision of victuall.

At this laste requeste they smyled, saying among themselves, to what purpose will these men haue victualls, for shortly they themselves shalbe boyled and eaten with the sause called *Axi*, pea, and if *Mutezuma* had not pretended their bodies for his owne dishe, they had bene eaten here befoze this tyme.

The

The punishment that Cortez executed for conspiracie.



The nexte day in the moornyng the *Cholulans* thinking that they had their determinate purpose in good readinesse, they came and brought many to carry their sardage, & other some to carry the Spaniards vppon their backes, hoppyng to appchēd them in the same order. There came also many armed men of the most valiantest, to kill him that should disorder himselfe. Likewise that day their Priests sacrificed ten chyldren of thre yeres of age to their God *Quetzalcoatl*, fīue of these chyldren were menne, and the other fīue women, whiche was their custome when they began their warres: the Captaynes placed themselves at the foure doores of Cortes his house with some armed men. Cortes early in the moornyng had secretly in a readinesse the *Indians* of *Zempoalan* and *Tlaxcallan*, and other friends: he commaunded his horsemen to take their horses, giuing them this watche worde, that when they hearde the noyse of the shotte of a handgun, that then they should play the mē, for it importēd all their liues. And he seing the towncs men appoch nere his lodging, commaunded y captaynes & chiefeest of them to come vnto him, saying, y he woulde take his leaue of them: there came many, but he woulde not suffer aboue thirtie persons to come in, who were the principallest, and declared vnto thē, that alwayes he had dealte truly with them, & they with him nothing but treason and lies. Likewise they had vnder colour requested that his friēds the *Tlaxcaltecas* shuld not come vnto their towne, & that he fulfilled there in their desire, & also commaunded his owne men in no wise to be hurtful vnto thē, yea & although they had not prouided him of victualls

O vvorthy  
Cortes.

¶.ij.

as

as reason did require, yet he would not permit any of his men to take the value of one henne from them, so that in recompence of all his gentle dealings and good will, they had moste wickedly procured the death of him and all his companie. And bycause they coulde not perfoyme it in their owne towne, they had prepared the slaughter in the high way, at those daungerous places whiche they had determiined to leade them vnto, pretending also the helpe of thirtie thousand men, Souldiers of *Mutezuma*, whiche army stode not fully two leagues from thence. And for this horrible and detestable wickednesse ye shall all oie, and in memozy of traytors I will destroy this cittie, and turne the foundations vpwordes, so that there shall remaine no remembraunce of you.

Their offence beyng manifest, coulde not be denied, and loopyng one vpon an other, their colours waxed pale and warne, saying, this man is lyke vnto our Goddes, who knoweth all things, therefore lette vs not denie the truth, and openly befoze the Embassadors of *Mutezuma* confesse their errour and euill fate.

Then sayd Cortes to the Embassadors, you do see that we should haue bene slaine by the *Cholollans*, and thzough the procurement of *Mutezuma*, but yet I belcne it not, considering that he is my friende and a mightie Prince, saying also that poble men vsed neyther treason nor lyes, wherefoze feare not you, but these dissemblyng Traytors shall be punished, for you are persons inuolable and messengers of a Prince, whome he meante to serue and not offende, bicause he had an assured opinion in *Mutezuma*, to be a vertuous Prince, and one that would not committe villanie.

All these wordes he spake, bycause he would not fall out with *Mutezuma*, vntill he sawe himselfe within the Cittie of *Mexico*.

Inconti-

Incontinent he commaunded some of those Captaines to be slayne, and kepte the residue bounde. Then he shotte off his handgun, whiche was the watch vnto his armye, who forthwith sette vppon the Townesmen, and within two houres slewe fire thousand persons and moze.

Cortes commaunded that they shoulde kill neyther woman nor childe: they soughte welnere spue houres: they sette fire on all the houses and Towers that made resistance, and dzaue all the inhabitantes out of the Towne. The dead carcases lay so thicke, that of force they must treade vpon them.

There were twentie Gentlemen, and many Priestes, who ascended vpon to the high tower of the temple, whiche hatte a hundred and twenty steppes, from whence wyth arrowes and stones they did muche hurt, and would not yelde, wherevpon oure men set fier to the Tower, and burned them all. Then they exclaymed on their Goddes, who would neyther helpe them nor their Cittie and holy sanctuary.

The Cittie being sacked, oure men tooke the spoyle of golde, plate, and feathers, and the *Indians* their friends tooke clothes and salte, which was the treasure that they desired.

Cortes commaunded to cease the spoyle. The other Captaynes that lay bounde, hearing of suche a greater destruction and punishment, most pitifully besought Cortes to loose some of them, for to see what was become of their Gods and comon people. Likewise they humbly besought him to pardon them, who had not so muche fault as *Mutezuma*, who perswaded and entised them to that pretended treason.

Vpon their lamentable request, he loosed two of them, and the next day following the Cittie was as ful of people agayne, that there seemed not one to be wanting.

¶.iiij.

At



At the sute of the *Tlaxcaltecas* who were put for mediators, *Cortes* pardoned them all, and sette his prisoners at libertie, assuring them that the like correction he would do vpon al them that should dissemble or shewe an euil countenance, or make lyes, or finally vse anye kinde of treason toward him: wherevpon they all abode in greatesseare. He made the knot of friendship betwene them and the *Tlaxcaltecas*, which in time past had bin betwixt them, for *Mutezuma* and his auncetors made them enuies, with fayre promises, words and also seare.

The Citizens hauing their generall sayne, chose another with licence of *Cortes*.

### The Sanctuary or holy place among the Indians was Chololla.



*Chololla* is a city as *Tlaxcalan*, and hath but one person who is gouernour and general Captayne, chosen by the consente of all the Citizens. It is a Citie of twentie thousande householdes within the walles, and in the suburbs as muche more. It sheweth outwardes verpe beauti-

full, and full of towers, for there are as manye temples as dayes in y<sup>e</sup> yeare, & every temple hath his tower. Our men counted foure hundred towers. The men and womē are of good disposition well fauoured, and very wittie.

The women are Goldsmithes and also Caruers, the men are warriors, and light fellows, and good maisters for any purpose: they goe better apparelled than any other

ther Indians yet seene. They weare for their bitter garment clokes like vnto *Popiscos*, but after an other sort. All the Countrey rounde aboute them is fruitfull and careable grounde, well watered, and so full of people, that there is no wast grounde, in respect whereof, there are some poore, whiche begge from doze to doze. The *Spanyarden* hadde not seene any beggers in that Countrey before they came thither.

*Chololla* is a Citie of most deuotion and Religion in all India, it is called y<sup>e</sup> Sanctuary or holy place among y<sup>e</sup> Indians, and thither they trauelled from many places farre distante on pilgrimage, and for this cause there were so many temples.

Their Cathedraall Temple was the best and hyghest of all the new *spayne*, with a hundred and twenty steppes vnto it.

The greatest Idoll of all their Gods was called *Quetzalcoately*, God of the ayre, who was (say they) the founder of their Citie, being a Virgin of holy lyfe, and great penance. He instituted fasting and drawing of bloud out of their eares and tongs, and leste a precepte, that they shoulde sacrifice but onely Quayles, Doves, and other soule.

He neuer wore but one garmente of Cotton, whiche was white, narrow and long, and vpon that a mantle besette with certayne redde crosses.

They haue certayne greene stones whiche were hye, and those they keepe for reliques. One of them is lyke an Apes head. Here they abode twentie dayes, and in thys incane whyle there came so manye to buy and sell, that it was a wonder to see. And one of the things that was to be seene in those dayes, was the earthen vessel, which was exceeding curious and fine.

The

## The hill called Popocatepec.



Here is a hill eyght leagues from *Chololla*, called *Popocatepec*, whiche is to say, a hill of smoke, for manye tymes it passeth oute smoke and fier. *Cortez* harte thither tenne *Spanyarden*, with manye *Indians*, to carrie their vittuall, and to guide them in the way. The ascending vp was very troublesome, and full of craggie rockes. They appoched so nigh the toppe, that they heard such a terrible noyse which proceeded frō thence, that they durst not goe vnto it, for the ground vpd tremble and shake, and great quantitie of *Ashes* whych disturbed the way: but yet two of them who seemed to be most hardie, and desirous to see straunge things, went vp to the toppe, because they would not returne with a shewelisse answer, and that they myghte not be accompted cowardes, leaving their fellows behinde them, proceeded forwarde. The *Indians* sayd, what meane these men: for as yet neuer mortall man toke suche a tourney in hande.

These two valiant fellows passed through y desert of *Ashes*, and at length came vnder a greete smoke verpe thicke, and standing there a while, the backenesse vanished partly a way, and then appeared the vulcan and concaustie, which was about halfe a league in compasse, out of the whiche the nyte came rebuoning, with a greete noyse, very hyll, and whistling, in soe that the whole hill did tremble. It was to be compared vnto an oven where glasse is made. The smoke and heate was so greete, that they coulde not abbe it, and of soe were constrained to returne by the way that they had ascended: but they were not gone farre, whē the vulcan began to lash out flames of

of fier, ashes, and imbers, yea and at the last stones of burning fire: and if they had not chanced to finde a rocke, where vnder they shadowed themselves, vndoubtedlye they had there bin burned.

When with good tokens they were returned where they left their fellows, the other *Indians* kissed their garments as an honoz due vnto Gods. They presented vnto them such things as they had, and wondred much at their fate.

Those simple *Indians* thought, that that place was an *Purgatory*: infernall place, where all suche as gouerned not well, or vled tyrannie in their offices, were punished when they dyed, and also beleued, that after their purgation, they passed into glozy.

This vulcan is like vnto the vulcan of *Cicilia*, it is high and round, and neuer wanteth *Snowe* about it, and is sene a farre off in the nighte, it lasheth out flames of fire.

There is nere aboute this hyl many Cities, and *Huexozinco* is one of the highest.

In tenne yeares space this straunge hill of working vpd expell no vapoure or smoke: but in the yeare. 1540. it beganne agayne to burne, and with the horrible noyse thereof, the neyghbours that dwelte foure leagues from thence were terrisyed, for the especiall straunge smokes that then were sene, the like to their pzedecessors hadde not bin sene.

The ashes that proceeded from thence came to *Huexozinco*, *Quelaxcopan*, *Tepiacac*, *Quauhquecholla*, *Chololla*, and *Tlaxcallan*, whiche standeth tenne leagues from thence, yea some say, it extended fiftene leagues distant, and burned their hearbes in their gardens, their fieldes of cozne, trees, and clothes that lay a dyping.

Y.

The

The consultation that Mutezuma had,  
concerning the comming of Cortez into Mexico.



Cortez pretended not to fall out with Mutezuma, befoze his comming to Mexico, and yet he understode all Mutezuma's pretence, whereupon he complayneth to the Ambassadors, saying that he much marvelled that such a mightie Prince, who by so many Gentlemen had assured his friendship unto him, should procure his totall destruction, in not keeping his promise and fidelitie. In consideration whereof, where he meant to visit him as a friend, that now he would goe to his Courte as an enimie. The Ambassadors excused their masters cause, beseeching him to withdrawe his furie, and to giue licence to one of them to goe to Mexico, who would bring answers from thence with all speede.

Cortez graunted unto the request, the one of them went, and returned agayne within five dayes in company of another messenger that hadde gone thither befoze, who broughte tenne platters of golde, and a thousande fine hundred mantels of cotten, with much victuall, and Cacao whiche is a kinde of fruite that serueth for currant money among them. Likewise they brought a certaine kind of wine or licoure made of Cacao and Centli. They excused Cortez, that Mutezuma was innocente of the consultation in Chololla, nor by any means priuie to their dealings, assyuring moreover that the garrison of soldiers did apperteyne to Acaxinco, and Acaxan, who were neyghbours to Chololla, who by inducement of some naughty persons, had procured that thing, saying that he should see and understand him to be his faithful and loving friend.

friend, praying him to come forward on his journey, for he would abide his coming in Mexico.

This ambassage pleased well Cortez, but Mutezuma feared, when he heard of the slaughter, and burning of Chololla, and sayde to his friends, these are the people that our Gods said should come and inherite this land.

Prophecie  
of the Di-  
uell.

Mutezuma went incontinent to his Dzatozie, and shut in himselfe alone, where he abode in fasting and prayer eight dayes, with sacrifice of many menne, to asslake the fury of his Idoles, who seemed to be offended.

The voyce of the Diuell spake unto him, bidding him not to feare the Christians, saying they were but fewe, and when they were come, he should doe what he lysted with them, willing him in no wise to cease from the bloody sacrifice, least some mischance might happen unto him. And assured hym that he should haue the Goddesses *Pitzipuehli*, and *Tescatlipuca* to preserve and keepe hym. And because *Quezalcoatl* was grieved for want of bloody sacrifice, he permitted the strangers to punish them of Chololla. And Mutezuma hearing this dyuelishe Dzacle, and likewise Cortez hauing warned him that he would visit hym as an enimie, he was by this perswasion of Satan, the better willing to receiue hym into Mexico.

Likewise Cortez when he came to Chololla, was strong, and hadde at commaundement a mightie power, and there made hymselfe stronger, the same whereof, was blowne abroad, throughout all the dominions of Mutezuma. And whereas the poore Indians hadde but onely marvelled at their persons and furniture, now they began to tremble and to feare at his doings, so that where soeuer he came, they opened him the gates with pure feare, more than for any loue.

Mutezuma at the beginning, pretended to feare Cortez  
p. g. with

An euill  
counsellor.

with the fearefull passages and other perils and danger, as the fortitude of *Mexico*, with his greate multitude of subiectes, and the great number of *Princes* that dyd both serue and obey him: and sayng that all these things profited not, he thoughte to haue ouercome him with gyftes and treasure, knowyng that he hadde required golde: yet he sawe that nothing woulde preuaile, for that *Cortez* woulde needes come to see hym, wherbypon, he toke counsell of the Diuell what he shoulde doe in that case, upon which counsell he was satisfiied by his *Princes* and Captaynes, that he ought not to warre against so fewe straungers, for if he so did, the dishonour woulde be his, and chiefly, bycause *Cortez* certifiied that he was an Ambassador, and vsing hym otherwise, it myghte so fall out, that his owne subiectes woulde rebell againste him theyr *Kinge* and *Prince*, sayng likewise that it was manifest that the *Otomies* and *Tlaxcaltecas* woulde fauour his syde, and also manye others, for to destroy and spoyle *Mexico*, upon which consultation it was openly proclaymed, that his will was that the straungers should enter into *Mexico* freely, thinking that if at anye time they shoulde displease hym, to make a breakfast of them the nexte day.

### Things that happened to Cortez in his iourney to Mexico.



*Cortez* hauyng so good an aunswere of the Ambassadors, he gaue licence to as manye of the *Indians* bys friendes, as listid to departe home to their houses, and he likewise departed from *Chololla* with some borderers that woulde needes followe hym.

¶

He leste the way that the *Mexicans* had perswaded him to come, for it was bothe euill and daungerous, as the *Spaniarde* whiche went to the vulcan had sente, he went another playner way and more nearer. That day he traueled but foure leagues, bicause he meant to lodge in the villages of *Huexozinco*, where he was friendly receyued, and they presented vnto him slaues, garments, and golde, although but little, for they are poore by reason that *Muteczuma* hath enuironed them aboute, bicause they were of the parcialtie of *Tlaxcallan*. The next day in the morning he ascended by a hill couered with snowe, which was sixe myles of heighth, where if the 30000. souldiers had wayted for them, they might easily haue taken them, by reason of the great colde: and from the toppe of that hill, they discovered the land of *Mexico*, and the great lake with his villages rounde about, whiche is an excedyng goodly sight. But when *Cortez* saw that beautifull thing, his ioy was without comparison, and he toke not so much pleasure, but some of his men feared as muche, and there was a murmuratiō among them to retorne backe againe, yea and like to haue bene a mutinie among them. But *Cortez* with his wisdom and dissimulation did pacifie the matter, with courage, hope, and gentle wordes, and they seeing that their Captayne at all assayes was the first himselfe, they feared the lesse the things that they imagined. And discending downe into the playn, they found a great large house, sufficient for him and all his company, with sixe thousande *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexozinco*, and *Chololla*. And the seruants of *Muteczuma* made cotages of straw for the *Tamomez* or carriers, who were laden with the fardage, and bidnalls: there was a good supper prepared for them, and great fires to warme them, and all things necessary. Whither came many principall persons from *Mexico* to visite him, among whome was a kinsman of *Muteczuma*.

Oh wille  
Cortez.

¶

¶

*tezcuma*, who presented vnto *Cortes* the value of three thousand Ducats in gold, & besought him to returne backe againe, and to haue consideration of the pouertie, hunger, & euill way, yea and to passe in litle boates in daunger of drowning. And as for tribute to be giuen to the Emperour, a greater summe should be appointed the though he went personally to *Mexico*, yea and that it should be payde at what place he would appoint. *Cortes* welcomed them, as reason did require, and presented vnto them haberdashe toyes, which they esteemed in much, & chiefly he did louingly entertayne *Mutezuma* his kinsman, vnto whome he made this answer, saying, I would gladly serue & pleasure such a mightie prince as your soueraigne *Mutezuma* is, if it lay in my handes without offence of the King my master, and concerning my going to *Mexico*, *Mutezuma* shall receiue both pleasure and honour rather than otherwise, & after I haue talked with him I will sone returne, likewise hunger I feare not, neither yet doubt that I nor none of mine shall wante, and for my passage on the water, I say it is nothing in comparison of two thousand leagues, which I haue sayled onely to come and visit him.

But yet for all this talke, if they had sounde him carelessse, they would haue pinched him as some doth say, for he gaue them to vnderstand that he nor his men slept not by night, nor yet vnarmed themselves, yea and also if it chanced the to finde in the night season any that were not of their company, they slew them out of hand, desiring him to aduise his men thereof, least any of them should happen to fall into that daunger, which would much grieue him, and with this talke they went all to take their rest.

The next day in the morning he proceeded forward and came to *Amaquemecan* which is two leagues from thence, & standeth in the prouince of *Chaleo*, a towne that containeth 20000. householders. The Lord of that towne presented

to *Cortes* fourtie women slaues, and, 3000. Ducats in gold, with meate abundantly for two dayes, and secretly made complaynt vnto him of *Mutezuma*. And from thence he went to another towne foure leagues from thence, the one half therof was builde vpon the lake, and the other halfe vpon the lande at the foote of a ragged hill, Where went in his company many subiectes of *Mutezuma* for purueyers, but yet both they and the townes men would sayne haue layde hand vpon the Spaniards, and euery night would sende their spies to see what the Christians did, but the watch slew about twentie of them, wher vpon the matter stayed and their pretence toke no effect: sure it is a thing to laugh at, for at euery fancie they would be prone to kill them, and yet they were not for the purpose. The next day in the morning came twelue Lordes from *Mexico*, among whome was *Cacama* brother to *Mutezuma*, who was Lord of *Texcoco* a yong man of .xxv. yeares of age, whom the Indians did much honour: he was carried vpon their shoulders, & when they set him downe one went before with a broome to sweep the dust out of his way. These Gentlemen came to accompany *Cortes* excusing *Mutezuma*, saying that he was not well at ease & therfore he came not personally to receiue him. And yet they entreated *Cortes* to returne backe againe, & not to come vnto *Mexico*, giuing him to vnderstand by signes, & they would there displease him, yea & also defend the passage & entrance, a thing easie to be done, but they were either blinded or else they durst not breake the Calley. *Cortes* entertained the like noble men, & gaue vnto the of his haberdashe, & departed from the towne to many graue personages who carried with the a great frayne, whiche filled vp the way well nigh as they should passe, looking at their beards, hairens, apparell, horses & ordinaunce, saying to themselves, these be Gods. *Cortes* gaue them warning not to come among the horses,

nor among his men, for scarce they would kill them. This he made them believe because he would not have his way stopped, for y<sup>e</sup> number of the was so great. They then came to a towne buylt upon the water of two thousand houses, and before they came thither they had gone more than halfe a league upon a fayre Calley, whiche was twentie fote b<sup>r</sup>ode: the towne had fayre houses and many towers: the Lord of the towne did receyue them w<sup>o</sup>thshipfully, and p<sup>r</sup>ouided all things plentifully, desirng him to abide there that night, and secretly made complayntes against *Mutezuma*, of many wrongs and exactions done by him, and certified him, that from thence the way was very fayre to *Mexico*, and al the like calley as he had passed. With this newes *Cortes* was very glad, for he meant to haue stayed there for to haue buylt barches and foyttes, & yet he feared lest they would break the calley, wherefore he had alwayes a care over *Quama*, who with the other Lordes desired him not to abide there, but to procede forward to *Iztacpalapan*, which was but two leagues off, and that the Lord thereof was another friend to *Mutezuma*. To admit their request he w<sup>e</sup>t with them to that towne, and from thence to *Mexico* was but two leagues, the which the next day he might goe at pleasure, and come timely into the Citie, & in this order came to *Iztacpalapan*.

Every two houres came messengers betwixte *Cortes* and *Mutezuma*: then came *Guastamac* Lord of that towne, with the Lord *Calhuan* his h<sup>u</sup>sm<sup>an</sup> to receiue him, who presented vnto him, clauies, garments, and feathers, and to the value of foure thousand Ducates in golde. *Guastamac* receyued al the Spaniards into his own house, whiche hath very fayre lodgings all of stone and Carpenters worke exceeding well wrought, with many rooms, with all kinde of seruise: The chambers were hangd with cloth of Cotton, very rich, after their manner.

There

There were fayre gardes replenished with many sweete floures, and sweete trees garnished with networke, made of Canes, and couered with roses and other fine hearbes, with sundry poudes of sweete water. There was another garden very beautifull of all sortes of fruytes and hearbes, with a great ponde walled with lime and stone, and was foure hundred paces square, made with fayre steppes to discende vnto the bottome in many places, and was full of diuers kindes of fishes, and many kinde of water birds, which somtimes couered y<sup>e</sup> pond, as Gulls, Swewes, and such like. *Iztacpalapan* is a towne of 10000 households, & is plated in a lake of salt water, the one half of the towne buylt on the water, & the other on the lande.

### The Solemne pompe vwherevwith

*Cortes* was receyued into *Mexico*.



From *Iztacpalapan* to *Mexico* is two leagues all upon a fayre calley, upon the which eight horsemen may passe on rake, and so directly straight as though it had bene made by line. And who soeuer hath good eyesight might discern the gates of *Mexico* from thence. *Coyotlan* is a towne of five thousand dwellers, *Vizilapuchtl* is of five thousand. These townes are planted in the lake, and are adorned with many temples, whiche haue many fayre towers, that doe beautifie exceedingly the lake. There is great contractatiō of Salte, which is made there, and from thence is carried abroad to fayres and markets, whiche thing was a greate rente to *Mutezuma*. Upon this Calley are many brawe bridges buylt upon fayre arches that the water passeth throug.

*Cortes* passed this calley with 400 Spaniards, & 6000 Indians his friends: they<sup>r</sup> passage was with much ado, by

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reason

reason of the great multitude of *Indians* which came to see him, & coming neare the citie, there adioyned another calley with a broader passage, where standeth a strong bulwark of stone of the heighth of .ij. fadoms, with two towers on eche side, and two gates very strong. Here at this foote came thre thousande Courtiers and Citizens to receyue him, & every of them touched the ground with his right hand and kissed it, and passed forwards in the order as they came. These salutations endured an houre & more. From the bulwark the calley lieth directly, and before the entrance into the Strete there is an other drawbridge made of timber ten paces broad, vnder the which the water passeth to and fro. At this bridge came *Mutezuma* to receyue *Cortes* vnder a Canapie of greene feathers & golde with much argenterie hanging thereat, whiche Canapie foure noble men did carry. And the two princes *Chulanac*, and *Cacama* his newelwes, did leade him by eache arme: all thre were riche appareled & al of one fashion, except *Mutezuma*, whiche had a payre of shoes of golde beset with pretious stones, and the soles were tied to the upper part with lachets, as is painted of the Antikes. His Gentlemen wente by two and two laying downe and taking by mantels and coverlets vpon the ground, because his feet should not touche the same: then followed him as in procession, 200. noble men barefooted, with garments of a richer livery than the first thre thousand. *Mutezuma* came in the middelt of the Strete, and the others came behinde him as nigh the wal as they mought, their faces towards the ground, for it was a great offence to looke him in the face. *Cortes* alighted from his horse, and according to our vse went to embrace him, but the Princes who led him by the armes would not suffer him to come so nigh, for they held it for sin to touch him, but yet saluted ech one y other.

*Cortes* put about *Mutezuma* his necke a collar of *Paragrites*,

garites, *Diamondes*, & other stones al of glasse. *Mutezuma* receyued it thankfully, & wente before with one of the princes his newelwes, & commaunded the other to lead *Cortes* by the hand next after him in the middelt of the Strete: and proceeding forward in this order, then came the Gentlemen in the richest livery to welcome him one by one, touching the ground with their handes, & after returned to their standyng. And if the Citizens had come as they requested, all y day would not haue serued for salutations. The collar of glasse pleased well *Mutezuma*, and because he would not take without giuyng a better thing as a great prince, he commaunded to be brought two collers of redde pawns, which there are much esteemed, and at every one of them hanged eight shrimps of gold of excellent workmanship, & of a finger length every one, he put these collers with his owne hands about *Cortes* his necke, the which was esteemed a most great fauour, yea and the *Indians* marueled at it. At this time they were come to the Strete ende, whiche was almost a mile long, broad, straight and very saye and full of houses on eche side, in whose doores, windowes and tops was such a multitude of *Indians* to beholde the strangers, that I knowe not who wondered most, our men to see such a number of them, or else they to see our men, their ordinance & horses, a thing so straunge vnto them. They were brought vnto a great court or house of idols, which was y lodging of *Axaiaca*, at the doore whereof *Mutezuma* took *Cortes* by the hande and brought him into a saye hall, and placed him vpon a riche carpet, saying vnto him, Sir nowe are you in your owne house, eate and take your rest & pleasure, for I wil shortly come and visite you againe. Such (as you heare) was the receiuing of *Hernando Cortes* by *Mutezuma* a most mightie King, into his great and famous Citie of *Mexico*, the eight day of Nouember. 1519.

Z.ij.

The



The Oration of Mutezuma to  
the Spanyardes.

His house where the Spanyardes were lodged was great and large, with many fayre chambers sufficient for them all: it was nete, cleane matted, and hanged with cloth of Cotten, and feathers of many colours, pleasant to behold. When *Mutezuma* was departed from *Cortes*, he began to sette his house in order, and placed the ordinaunce at his doze, and hauing all his things in good sorte, he went to a sumptuous dinner that was prepared for him. As soone as *Mutezuma* had made an ende of his dinner hearyng that the Straungers were rylen from the table, and reposed a while, then came he to *Cortes*, salutyng him, and satte downe by him. He gaue vnto him diuers iewels of gold plate, feathers, and many garnets of Cotten, both riche, well wouen, & wrought of straunge colours, a thing truely, that did manifest his greatnesse, and also confirme their imagination. This gifte was deliuered honozably, and then began his talke as foloweth: Lozde and Gentlemen, I doe much reioyce to haue in my house such valiant men as ye are, for to vse you with curtesie, and entreate you with honour, according to your deserte and my estate. And where heretofore I desired that you shoulde not come hither, the onely cause was, my people had a greate feare to see you, for your gesture & grimme beards did terrifie them, yea, they reported that ye had such beastes as swallowed men, and that your coming was from heauen, bringing with you lightning, thunder & thunderbolts, wherewith you made the earth to tremble & to shake, and that ye slew therewith whom ye pleased. But now I do see & know that you are mortall men, & that ye are quiet & hurt no man: also I haue seene your horses,

which

which are but your seruantes, and your Cunnies lyke vnto shotyng Trunkes. I do now hold all for fables and lyes which hath bin reported of you, and I do also accept you for my nere kinsmen. My father tolde me that he had heard his forefathers say, of whome I doe descende, that they helde opinion holue they were not naturals of this lande, but come hither by chance, in compaigne of a mighty Lozde, who after a while that they hadde abode here, they returned to their natiue soyle: After manye yeares erpyzed, they came agayne for those whome they had left here behind them, but they would not goe wyth them, bycause they had here inhabited, and hadde wyues and children, and great gouernement in the land. Nowe these myghtie Lozds seying that they were so stubborne, and woulde not retorne with them, departed from them soze displeased, saying, that he woulde sende his children that shoulde both rule and gouerne them, in iustice, peace, and auntient Religion, and for this consideration, we haue alwayes expected and beleued, that suche a people shoulde come to rule and gouerne vs, and considering from whence you come, I doe thinke that you are they whome we looked for, and the notice which the greate Emperour *Charles* had of vs, who hath now sent you hither. Therefore Lozde and Captayne, be well assured, that we wyll obey you, if there be no fayned or deceptfull matter in your dealings, and will also deuide wyth you and yours all that we haue. And although this which I haue sayde were not only for your vertue, fame, and deedes of valiant Gentlemen, I would yet do it for your worthinesse in the battayles of *Tauasco*, *Teocazinco*, and *Chololla*, beeyng so few, to overcome so many.

Now agayne, if ye ymagine that I am a God, and the walles and rouses of my houses, and all my vessell of seruice to be of pure golde, as the men of *Zempoallan*, *Tlax-*

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*callan,*

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opinion.

callan, and *Huexozincos* haue enformed you, it is not so, and I iudge you to be so wise, that you giue no credit to such fables. You shall also note, that through your coming hither, manie of my subiects haue rebelled, and are become my mortall enemies, but yet I purpose to breake their wings. Come seele you my body, I am of fleshe and bone, a mortall man as others are and no God, although as a King I doe esteeme my selfe of a greater dignitie and preheminence than others. By houses you do also see, which are of tymber and earthe, and the principallest of *Bascons* worke, therefore now you do both knowe and see what odious lyars those talebearers were. But troth it is, that golde plate, feathers, armour, iewels, and other riches, I haue in the treasury of my forefathers a long time preserved, as the vse of Kings is, all the which you & yours shall enioy at all times. And now it may please you to take your rest, for I know that you are weery of your journey. *Cortez* with ioyfull countenance humbled himselfe, seeing some teares fall from *Mutezuma* his eyes, saying vnto him, vpon the trust I haue hadde in your clemencie, I insisted to come both to see and talke wyth your highnesse, and now I know that all are lyes which hath bin tolde me. The like your highnesse hath hearde reported of vs, assure your selfe, that the Emperoure King of *spayne* is your naturall Lorde, whome ye haue expected for, he is the onely heyre from whence your lynage dothe procede, and as touching the offer of your highnesse treasure, I do most hartly thanke you.

After all this communication, *Mutezuma* demaunded whether the bearded men which came with him, were eyther his vassals or his slaues, bycause he would enterayne eache one according to his estate. *Cortez* answered, that they were all his brethren, friends, and fellows, except some that were his seruantes.

Then

Then he departed, and wente home to his Pallace, and there enformed himselfe particularlye who were Gentlemen, and who were not, and according therunto, sent euery one particular gift or present. To the Gentlemen he sente the rewarde by his Controller, and to the Parriners & other seruitors, by a Page of his householde.

### The Maiestie and order, vwherevith

*Mutezuma* was serued.



*Mutezuma* was a man of a small stature and leane, his couloure tawnic as all the Indians are. He hadde long heare on his heade, sixe little heares vpon him, as though they hadde bin put in with a bodkin. His thinne bearde was blacke. He was a man of sayre condition, and a doer of Justice, well spoken, graue and wise, beloued and feared among his subiects. *Mutezuma* doth signifie sadnesse.

To y proper names of Kings and Lords, they do adde this sillable *C*. which is for curtesie and dignitie, as we vse Lord. The Turke vseth *Zultan*. The more or Barbarian calleth his Lorde *Mulley*, and so the Indians say *Mutezuma* *zin*. His people hadde him in such reuerence, that he permitted none to sit in his sight, nor yet in his presence to weare shoes, nor looke him in the face, except very few Princes. He was glad of the conuersation of the *spanyarden*, and would not suffer them to stande on fote, for the great estimation he had of them, and if he lyked any of the *spanyarden* garments, he would exchange his apparell for theirs.

He changed his owne apparell foure times euery day, and he neuer clothed himselfe agayne with the garments which he hadde once woone, but all suche were kepte

kept in his Guardrobe, for to giue in presents to his seruantes and Embassadors, and vnto valiant souldyers which had take any enimie prisoner, and that was esteemed a great reward, and a title of priuiledge.

The costly matels wherof had bin diners sent to Cortes, were of the same Guardrobe.

Mutezuma went alwayes very net and fine in hys attire. He bathed him in his hotehouse foure times euery day. He went seldome out of his Chamber, but when hee went to his meate. He ate alwayes alone, but sollemnely and with great abundance. His table was a pillowe, or else a couple of coulloured skynnes. His Chayre was a fourfooted stole made of one peece, and hollowe in the middelt, well wroughte and paynted. His table clothes, napkins and towels were made of Cotton wolle, verie white and newe, for he was neuer serued but once wyth that naperie. Foure hundred Pages broughte in hys meate, all sonnes of greate Lordes, and placed it vppon a table in his greate Hall. The meate being broughte in, then came Mutezuma to beholde the dishes, and appoynted those dishes that liked him best, and chusing dishes were prepared to keepe that meate warme, and seldome would eate of any other dish, except the Lord Steward or Controller should highly commend any other dish.

Before he sate downe, came twentie of his wiues of the sayrest and best esteemed, or else those that serued weekly by turne, broughte in the bason and ewer, wyth greate humblenesse. This done, he sate him downe, and then came the Lord Steward, and byelwe a wooden nette before him, bycause none shoulde come nigh his table. And this noble man alone placed the dishes, and also toke them away, for the Pages who broughte in the meate came not nere the table, nor yet spake any word, nor no man else.

Whyle

Whyle the Lord Mutezuma was at his meate, excepte some Jester, they al serued him barefooted. There assisted alwayes somewhat a farre off, sixe auntiente and noble men, vnto whome he vsed to giue of the dish that best lyked him, who receyued the same at his hande with greate reuerence, and eate it incontinent, without loking in his face, whiche was the greatest humilitie that they coulde vse before him. He had musike of fiddle, flute, and of a Snayle shell, and a Caudron couered with a skynne, and suche other strange instrumentes. They hadde very cuill voyces to sing. Alwayes at dinner time he had Dwarfes, crokebackes, and other deformed counterfets, all for maiestie and to laugh at, who hadde their meate in the Hall among the Jestors and Jopots, whiche were fedde with parte of the meate that came from Mutezuma hys table, all the rest of the meate was giuen to thre thousand of the Guard, who attended ordinarily in the yerde or court, and therefore they say that there was broughte for his table thre thousande dishes, and as manye pottes of wine, suche as they vse, and that continually the butrey and Wantrey stode open, whiche was a wonder to see what was in them. The platters, dishes, and cuppes, were al of earth, whereof the King was serued but once, and so fro meale to meale new. He had likewise his seruice of golde and plate verie riche, but he vsed not to be serued with it, (they say) bycause he woulde not be serued twice therewith, the whiche he thoughte a base thing. Some affirme, that yong children were slayne and dresed in diuers kind of dishes for Mutezuma his table, but it was not so, only of mans flesh sacrificed he fedde nothe and then. The table being taken vp, then came againe the Gentlewomen to bring water for his hands, with the like reuerence as they vsed at the first, and then went they to dinner with the other wiues, so that then the Gentle-

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men and Pages waited as their course fell.

The footeplayers that played  
before Mutezuma.



When his table was taken vp, and his ser-  
uitors gone to meate, *Mutezuma* late still:  
then came in the suiters that hadde any  
affayres to deale with him, barefoted, for  
all the persons did vse that reuerence, ex-  
cepte some Princes his kinsmen, as the  
Lords of *Tescuco*, and *Tlacopan*, and a fewe others: and  
being colde weather, they vsed to weare olde ragged  
clothes vpon theyr riche garmentes. Al suiters vsed to  
make three or foure curtesies, not loking toward his face,  
and speaking vnto him their heads downewardes, and in  
that order rettyed backe agayne, *Mutezuma* answered  
his suiters very grauely, with lowe voyce, and in fewe  
words, and not to al suiters, for others his secretaries or  
counsellors that stode by, answered for him, and hauyng  
their aunswere, they returned backwardes, not turning  
their tayles to the pynce. After these businesses done, he  
vsed some recreation, hearing Tjessers or songs, wherein  
he delighted much, or else to looke vpon the players, who  
play with their fete, as we doe with our handes. These  
haue a rudgell like vnto a passlers rowler, whiche they  
tosse high and lowe, as it were a bal in the ayre, straunge  
to beholde. They vse other playes to passe the tyme, in  
such an order, that it seemed maruellous to the lookers on.  
*Cortez* broughte into *Spayne* some of these players. Also  
they vse *Matachines*, in suche sorte they do play, that they  
stand each vpon others shoulders, and he that standeth  
highest, sheweth many feates. Sometime *Mutezuma*  
did beholde the players, who played at a game called *Pa-*  
*colizeli*,

*colizeli*, whiche is muche like our Tables, and they play  
with beanes, squared like dice, which they call *Patolli*, and  
throw them out of both their hands vpon a matre, or else  
vpon the ground, where are made certaine strikes, vpon  
which they set downe the chance that is thorsen: and at  
this game they play all that they haue, and many tymes  
they valew theyr owne bodyes, and play that into capti-  
uitie, and to remayne a slave, I meane such as are com-  
mon gamesters of small estate.

The Tennis play in Mexico.



Sometimes *Mutezuma* went to the Tennis  
Courte. Their ball is called *Villamaliztli*,  
and is made of the gumme which cometh  
from a tree called *Vlli*. This tree groweth  
in a hote Countrey. The gumme being  
kneded together, and so made round, is as blacke as pitch,  
and somewhat heauie, and very harde for the hande, but  
yet good and light to rebound, and better than our wind-  
balles. They play not at chases, but at badie, or at check,  
that is, if the ball touch the wall it loseth. They maye  
strike the ball with any part of their body, but there is al-  
wayes a penaltie if they only strike not with the buttoke  
or side, whiche is the finest play: wherefore they vse a  
skynne vpon each buttocke. They play so many to so  
many for a packe of mantels, or according to the abilitie  
of the players. Also they play for golde and feathers, and  
sometime for their owne bodyes, as they vse at *Patolli*,  
which is there permitted & lawfull. The Tennis Court  
is called *Tlachco*, and is a Hall long and narrow, but wy-  
der vptwards, than downewardes, and higher on the sides  
than at y ends, which is an industrie for their play. The  
house is alwayes white and smoth in the side walles: they  
haue certain stones like vnto mylstones, w a little hole in  
Aa. y. the

the middest that passeth through the stone, the hole is so small, that scarcely the ball maye passe through, but hee that chanceth to strike the ball into the hole, whiche seldom happeneth, winneth the game, and by an auntiente lawe and custome among Tennis players, he ought to haue the clokes of all those that stande and beholde the play, on that side that the ball went in, and in some Tennis Courtes, the halfe of the garmentes of them that stande looking on. The winner is then bounde to make certayne sacrifice to the God of the Tennis play, and to the stone where the ball entred. The beholders of the play woulde saye, that suche a wyinner should be a thiefe and an adulterer, or else that he shoulde dye quickly.

They bled in the Temple of the Tennis play two Images of the God of the ball, which stode vpon the two lower walles. Their Sacrifice was celebrated at midnight, with many Ceremonies and Witchcraftes, and songs for that purpose. Then came a Prieste from the Cathedrall Church, wyth other Religious persons to blesse the Sacrifice, saying certayne diuelishe prayers, and thzowing the ball four tymes in the Tennis Court. In thys order was the Tennis play consecrated, and after thys consecration it was lawfull to play, or else not, for this dilligence was firste to be done when any Tennis Court or play was newly built.

The owner of the Tennis Courte also woulde neuer suffer any to play, vntill he had first offered something to the Idoll, theyr superstition was so great.

Mutezuma broughte the Spanyardes to behold this pastyme, and gaue the to vnderstande, y he dellyghted much in thys game, and also to see our men play at Cardes and Dyce.

The

The number of viues that Mutezuma  
had in his house.

**M**utezuma had many houses as wel in Mexico as without, for his recreation and pleasure, as also for his ordinary dwelling. To write of al it should be tedious, but where his continual abyding was, he named *Tempalco*, that is to say, Pallace. And that Pallace had twenty dozes or gates which had their outcomming into the common streates.

It hath thre courtes, and in the one standeth a fayre fountaine, many halles, and a hundred chambers of twentie, thre, and thirtie foote long, an hundred bathes & hot-houses: and although the building was without nayles, yet very good workmanship.

The walles were made of masons work, and wrought of Marble, Aspe, and other blacke stone, with baines of redde, like vnto rubies and other stones, whiche glittered very fayre: the Rooffes wer wrought of Tymber, and curiously carued: the Timber was Cedre, Cipers, & Pyne-tree: the chambers were painted and hong with cloth of cotten, and clothe made of Cornes haire and feathers. The beddes were poze and of no ballew, for they were nothing but Mantels layde vpon mattes, or vpon Hay, or else mattes alone: fewe men lay within those houses.

There were a thousande women, and some affyrme y there were thre thousand, accounting gentlewomen, seruants and slaues: the most were noble mens daughters, Mutezuma toke of them for himselfe, those that liked him best, and the others he gaue in marriage to Gentlemen his seruants.

Aa. iij.

The

The saying was that he had at one tyme a hundreth & fiftie women hys wiues with childe, who thzough the perswasion of the Deuill tooke Medecines to caste theyz creatures, bycause they knewe that they shoulde not inherite the state: these hys wiues had many olde women for their Guard, for no man was permitted to looke vpon them.

The shield of armes that is sette in his pallasce, and likewise carried to the warres, is an Eagle sozpyng vpon a Tiger hys talents bent as takyng pray. Some thynk it is a Gryphon and not an Eagle. The Gryphons in time past, say they, did cause the vale of *Anacatlan* to be despeopled, for they were greate deuourers of menne, and that theyz abidyng was in the Mountaynes of *Teoacan*: they approue that these Mountaynes were called *Cuistlach-repelt*, of *Cuistlachili*, which is a Gryphon bigger than a Lion: but the Spaniardes dyd neuer see any of them.

The Indians by theyz olde Pictures doe paynt those Gryphons to haue a kynde of heare and no feathers, and also affirme, that with theyz talandes & teeth they breake mens bones. They haue the courage of a Lion and the countenaunce of an Eagle: they paynte him with foure teete, and teeth, with a kinde of downe more lyke wolfe than feathers, with his beake, talandes and wings.

And in all those things the picture agreeth with our paynting and wryting, in suche sorte that a Gryphon is no approued naturall foule, nor yet beast. *Plinie* iudgeth this tale of Gryphons to be lies. There are also other Lordes that giue the Gryphon in their armes, flying with a harte in his Talandes,

A

A house of Foule, vvhiche vvere onely  
preserued for their feathers.



*Presuma* had another house, with very good lodgings and fayre galleries, buylt vpon pillars of Iaspe, whiche extendeth towarde a goodly garden, in the whiche there are ten pondes of moe, some of salte water for sea foule, & other some of fresh water for riuer foule and lake foule, which pondes are deuised w<sup>th</sup> slupes to emptye & to fill at their pleasure for the cleannesse of the feathers. There is such a number of foule, that scarcely the pondes may holde them, and of suche diuers kindes bothe in feathers and makyng, as sure it was an admiration for the Spaniardes to beholde, for the moste of them they knew not, nor yet had at any tyme scene the lyke. And to euery kynde of foule they gaue suche bayte as they were wont to feede of in the fieldes of Riuers. There did belong to that house thre hundred persons of seruice: some were to cleanse the pondes: other some did fishe for bayte: other some serued them with meate: other did lase them and trimme theyz feathers: others had care to looke to their egges: others to sette them abrode: others cured them when they were sicke: and the principallest office was to plucke the feathers: for of them was made riche Mantels, Tapissarie, Targattes, Tuffes of feathers, and many other things wrought with Golde and Siluer: a most perfitte worke.

A

A house of foule for havvking and other  
straunge things.



There is another house with large quarters & lodgings, which is called a house for foule, not bycause there are moze than in the other, but bycause they bee bigger and to hauke withal, and are foule of rapine, wherfoze they are esteemed as moze nobler than al the others.

There are in this house many high halles, in the whiche are kept men, women and Childzen: in some of them are kept suche as are bozne white of colour, which both very seldome happen: in other some are dwarfes, crooked backs, burstenmen, counterfaites, and monstrous persons, in greate number: they say that they used to despoyme them when they were childzen, to sette forth the kings greatnesse: euery of these persons were in severall Halles by themselves.

In the lower Halles were greate Cages made of Tymber: in some of them were Lyons, in other Tygres, in other Dwnzes, in others Molues: in conclusion, there was no foure footed beaste that wanted there, onely to the effect that the mightie *Mutezuma* might say that hee had such things in his house.

They were fed with their ordinary, as Gynea cockes, Deare, Dogges, and such like.

There was also in other Halles great Earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherin were snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Wipers Crocodylles, whiche they cal *Caymanes*, or *Lizards* of twenty fote long, with suche Scales and head as a Dragon hath: Also other little Lizards, and other venomous beastes and Serpents

Serpentes as well of the water as of the land, a terrible sight for the lookers on.

There were also other Cages for foule of rappne of all sortes, as Hawkes, Byghtes, Boyters, and at the least nine or ten kind of Hawkes. This house of foule had of dayly allowance five hundred Gynea cockes, and thre hundred men of seruice, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which are infinite. There were many other sortes of Foules that our men knowe not, which seemed by theyr beake and talents good to Hauke withal.

To the Snakes and other venomous beastes they gaue the bloude of men sacrificed, to fede them, and some saye they gaue vnto them mannes fleshe, whych the greate Lysarts doe eate very well. The Spaniardes saw the floure couered with bloud like a tealy in a slaughter house, it stonke horribly.

It was straunge to see the officers in this house howe euery one was occupied. Our men tooke greate pleasure in beholding suche straunge thyngs, but they coulde not alwaye with the roaryng of the Lyons, the fearefull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Molues, the sorrowfull yelling of the Dwnzes & Tygres, when they would haue meate.

Most certaine, in the nighte season it seemed a Dongeon of Hell, and a dwelling place of the Denill, and euen so it was in dede, for neare at hande was a Hall of a hundred & fiftie fote long, and thirtie fote broad, where was a Chappel with the Roose of silver and gold in lease Mainescotted, and decked with greate store of pearle and stone, as Agattes, Cornierines, Emeraldes, Rubies, and diuerse other sortes, and thys was the Oratory where *Mutezuma* prayed in the nighte season,

Bb.

and



and in that chappell the Diuell did appeare vnto hym, and gaue him answere accoꝝdyng to his prayers.

He had other houses lyke vnto Barnes, onely for the feathers of foules, and for mantels whiche proceeded of his rentes and tributes, a thing muche to be seene: vpon the doores was sette his armes, whiche was a Connie.

Here dwelled the chiefe officers of his house, as Tre-fozer, Controller, Recepuers and other officers appertaynyng to the Kings reuenues. Mutezuma had no house wherein was not an oratory for the Deuill, whome they worshipped for the Jewels there. And therefore those houses were great and large.

### The Armory of Mutezuma.



Mutezuma had some houses of Armour, vpon the doores wherof stode a bow and arrowes. In these houses was greate store of all kinde of munition whiche they vse in their wars: as Bowes, Arrowes, Slings, Launces, Dartes, Clubbes, Swords and Bucklers, and gallant Targettes more trimme than strong, Skulles and Splintes, but not many, and al made of woodde, gilte or couered with leather. The woodde whereof they make their Armour and Targettes, is very harde and strong, for they vse to toast it at the fire, and at their arrowe endes they inclose a litle peece of flint stone, or a peece of a fishe bone called *Libisa*, and that is venemous, for if any bee hurte therewith and the head

head remaine in the wounde, it so festereth, that it is almost incurable.

Theyr swordes are of woodde, and the edge thereof is flint stone, inclosed or ioyned into a staffe, with a certaine kynde of glew whiche is made of a roote called *Zacole* and *Tenxalli*, whiche is a kinde of strong sande, whereof they make a mixture, and after kneade it with blood of Battes or Kearemite and other foule, which doth glewe maruelous strong, and lightly neuer vncleaueth: of this stuffe they make nayles, pearcers, & ogars, wherewith they boze timber & stone: with theyr swordes they cut speares, pea and a horse necke at a blowe, and make dentes into iron, whiche seemeth a thing vnpowssible and incredible. In the Citie no man may weare weapon, but onely in warres, huntynge, and among the kings Guarde.

### The Gardens of Mutezuma.



Besides the foresayde houses hee had many others for his onely recreation and passetyme, with excellent sayre gardens of medicinall hearbes, sweete floures, and trees of delectable sauour, whiche were many, and a thing to gyue prayse to God the maker and creator of all.

In that Garden were a thousande personages, made and wrought artificially of leaues and flowers. Mutezuma woulde not permitte that in this Garden shoulde be any kynde of potted hearbes, or thyngs to be solde, saying, that it dyd not appertayne to things to haue thyngs of profite among theyr delectes and pleasures, for suche thyngs (sayde hee) dyd appertayne to Merchants.

Yet notwithstanding he had Orchards with many and sundry fruites, but they stode farre from the Cittie, and whither seldome times hee wente: he had likewise out of Mexico pleasaunte houses in woodes and forrestes, of greate compasse, enuyroned with water, in the which he hadde fountaynes, riuers, pondes with fishe, warrantes of Conneys, rockes & couert where were Harts, Buckes, Hares, Foxes, Wolues, and such like, with wildernesse for euery sort.

To these places the Lords of Mexico, vsed to goe and spozte themselves, suche and so manye were the houses of Mutezuma, wherein selue Kings were equall with him.

### The court and Guarde of

Mutezuma.



He had dayly attending vpon hym in hys priuie garde sixe hundred noble men and gentlemen, and eche of them thre or foure seruants, and some hadde twenty seruaunts or moe, according to his estate: and in this maner he had thre thousand men attendant in his court, and some affirm moze, al the which were fed in his house of the meate that came from his table.

The seruing men alwayes abode belowe in the court all the daye, and wente not from thence tyll after Supper.

It

It is to be thought that his Guard was the greater, because the straungers were there, although in effeate of troth it is most certayne, that all the Lords that are vnder the Mexicall Empire (as they say) are thirtie persons of high estate, who are able to make each of them a hundred thousand men. There are thre thousand Lords of Townes, who haue many bassals.

These noble menne did abide in Mexico certayne tyme of the yeare, in the Court of Mutezuma, and could not departe from thence without especiall licence of the Emperoure, leauing each of them a sonne or brother behinde them for securitie of Rebellion, and for this cause they had generally houses in the Citie: such and so great was the court of Mutezuma.

### The great subiection of the Indians

to their King.



Here is not in all the dominions of Mutezuma any subiect that payeth not tribute vnto him. The noblemen paye theyr tribute in personall seruice. The husbandmen called *Macualtin*, with body & goods. In this sort they are eyther tenants, or else heyres to their possessions. Those which are heyres, do pay one third part of all their fruite and commoditie that they doe reape or bring vp, as Dogges, Hennes, Foule, Conyes, Gold, Siluer, Stones, Salt, Ware, Honey, Pantels, Feathers, Cotten, and a certayne fruite called *Cacao*, that serueth for monney, and also to eate. Also all kinde of grayne, and garden Herbes and fruites, whereof they do maynteyne themselves.

The Tenantes doe paye monethly or yearely as they can agree, and because their tribute is greate, they are

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called

called slaues, for when they maye haue licence to eate egges, they thinke it a greate fauour. It was reported that they were tared what they shoulde eate, and all the residue was taken from them. They went very poorly clothed, yea and the most of their treasure was an earthe potte, wherein they boyled theyr herbes, a couple of millstones to grinde their Corne, and a matte to lye vppon. They did not onely pay this rente and tribute, but also serued with their bodies at all times when the great King should commaunde. They were in such great subiectiō to their prince, that they durst not speake one word, although their daughters shoulde be taken from them to be vsed at their pleasure. It was reported, that of euerye thre sonnes, they deliuered one to be sacrificed, but y report was false, for if it had bin true, the Tolunes had not bin so replenished with people as they were: and also the noble men did not eate mans flesh, but only of those whiche were sacrificed, and they were slaues or prisoners taken in the warres. Assuredly they were cruell butchers, and slewe yearly for that bloudy sacrifice many menne, and some children, but not so many as was reported. All the aforesayde rentes they brought to Mexico vpon theyr backs and in boates, I meane so much as was necessary for the prouision of the house and Courte of *Mutezuma*, all the residue was spente among souldyers, and bartred for golde, plate, precious stones, and other riche Jewels, esteemed of Princes, all the whiche was broughte to the treasury. In Mexico was large and greate barnes and houses to receyue and keepe the Corne for prouision of the Citie, with officers and vnderofficers, who did receyue the same, and kepte accompte thereof in booke of paynted figures. Also in euerye Towne was a receyuer, who bare in his hand a rodde or a bushe of feathers, and those gaue vp their accomptes in Mexico. If any such

had

had bin taken with deceipt and falschode, death was his reward, yea and his kinred punished with penalties, as of a lignage of a Traytor to his Prince. The husbandmenne, if they payd not well their tribute, were apprehended for the same, and if they were founde to be worse through sicknesse and infirmitie, then they were bozne withall, but if they were found to be lazie and slothfull, they shoulde be vsed accordingly: but in conclusion, if they payde it not at a daye appoynted, then they shoulde be solde for slaues to pay their dette, or else be sacrificed.

There were many other prouinces, whiche paid a certayne portion, and reknowledged seruice, but this tribute was more of honoz than profite. In this sort *Mutezuma* had more than sufficiente to prouide his house & warres, and to heape vp great store in his treasury. Moreover, he spente nothing in the buildings of his houses, for of long time he had certayne townes that payd no other tribute, but only to worke and repayre continually his houses at their owne proper cost, and payde all kind of workemen, carrying vpon their backs, or drawing in sleddes, stone, lyme, timber, water, and all other necessities for the worke. Likewise they were bounde to prouide all the fierwood that shoulde be spent in the Court, whiche was a great thing, and did amount to 30. hundred waight a day, which was five hundred mens burthens, and some dayes in the winter much more. And for the Kings Chimneys they brought the barke of Oke trees, whiche was best esteemed for the light thereof, for they were greate sootcers. *Mutezuma* had 100. cities, with their prouinces, of whome he receiued rentes, tributes, & vassalage, where he mainteined garrison of souldiers, & had treasurers in each of the. His dominiō did extend from the North sea to the South sea, & 600. miles in longitude within the maine lād, although in very deed ther were some towne, as *Tlaxcala*,

*Mechuacan*,

*Mechuacan*, *Panuco*, and *Teocantepec*, whiche were his enemies, and payde him neyther tribute nor seruice: but yet the ranfome was muche, when any of them were taken.

Also there were other kings and noble men, as of *Texcoco* and *Tlacopan*, which were not in subiection vnto him, but onely in homage and obedience, for they were of his owne lignage, vnto whome *Mutezuma* married his daughters.

### The scituation of Mexico.



*Exico* at the time when *Cortes* entred, was a Citie of sixtye thousande houses. The Kings house and other noble mens houses were great, large, and beautifull, the others were small and roynish, without eyther dozes or windowes: and although they were small, yet

there dwelled in some of them two, thre, yea and tenne persons, by reason whereof, the Citie was wonderfully replenished with people.

This Citie is built vpon the water, euen in the same order as *Venice* is. All the body of the Citie standeth in a greate large lake of water. There is thre sortes of strêtes very bzoade and layze, the one sorte are onely of water, with many bzoiges, an other sort of onely earth, and the thirde of earth and water, that is to saye, the one halfe earth to walke vpon, and the other halfe for boates to bring prouision of all sorts. These strêtes are kepte alwayes cleane, and the mosse parte of the houses haue two dozes, the one towarde the calley, and the other toward the water, at the whiche they take boate to goe  
where

where they list. And although this Citie is founded vpon water, yet the same water is not good to drynke, wherefore there is broughte by conduit water from a place called *Chapultepec*, thre myles distant from the Citie, which springeth out of a little hill, at the foote whereof standeth two Statues or couered Images wrought in stone, with their Targettes and Launces, the one is of *Mutezuma*, and the other of *Axatla* his father.

The water is broughte from thence in two pypes or Canalls in greate quantitie, and when the one is foule, then all the water is conuayed into the other, til the first be made cleane. From this fountayne al the whole Citie is prouided, so that they goe selling the same water from strête to strête in little boates, and doe paye a certayne tribute for the same.

This Citie is deuided into two strêtes, the one was called *Tlatelulco*, that is to say, a litle Iland, and the other *Mexico*, where *Mutezuma* his dwelling and courte was, e is to be interpreted a spring. This strête is the sayrest and most principall, and bycause of the Kings pallace there, the Citie was named *Mexico*, although the old and first name of the Citie was *Tenochtitlan*, whiche doth signifie fruite out of stone, for the name is compounded of *Tetl*, which is, stone, and *Nuchli*, which is fruite, called in *Cuba*, *Tunas*. The tree that beareth this fruite, is named *Nopal*, and is nothing almost but leaues of a foote bzoade and round, and thre ynches thicke, some more, and some lesse, accordyng to the growth, full of thornes whiche are venemous: the leafe is greene, and the thorne or picke russet. After that it is planted, it encrease, growing leafe vnto leafe, and the foote thereof cometh to bee as the body of a tree, and one leafe dothe not onely produce another at the poynt, but at the sides of the same leaues proceedeth other leaues: And bycause here in *spayne* is  
Cc. of

of the same trees and fruit, it needeth no further description.

In some provinces where water is scarce, they use to drinke the iulce of these leaues. The fruit thereof called *Nuchli*, is lyke vnto pygges, and euen so hath the little kernels or graynes within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned lyke vnto a pedler. There are of them of sundry coloures, some are greene without, and Carnationlike within, which haue a good tast. Others are yellowe, and others white, and some speckled: the best sort are the white: it is a fruit that will last long.

Some of them tasteth of pears, and other some of Grapes: it is a colde and a fresh fruit, and best esteemed in the heate of Sommer. The Spanyardes doe more esteeme them than the Indians. The more the ground is laboured where they growe, the fruit is so much the better.

There is yet another kinde of this fruit redde, and that is nothing esteemed, although his tast is not cull, but bycause it dothe coloure and dye the eaters mouth, lippes, and apparell, yea and maketh his byrne loke like pure blood. Many Spanyardes at their first comming into India, and eating this fruit, were in a maze, and at their wittes ende, thinking that all the blood in their bodies came out in byrne: yea and manye Whisitions at their first comming were of the same beliefe: for it hath happened, when they haue bin sent for vnto such as haue eaten this fruit, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the byrne, by and by they ministred medicine to staunch blood: surely a thing to laugh at, to see the Whisitions so deceptued. Of this fruit *Nuchli* and *Tel*, which is a stone, is compounded *Tenuchilitan*. When this Citie was begunne to be founded, it was placed nere vnto a great stone that stode in the myddest of the lake, at the

foote

foote whereof growe one of these *Nopal* trees, and therefore *Mexico* giueth for armes and denific the foote of a *Nopal* tree springing from a stone, according to the Citie name.

Others doe affirme, that this Citie hath the name of his first founder, called *Tenuch*, beeing the seconde sonne of *Iztacmixcoatl*, whose sonnes and descendentes did first inhabite this lande of *Ananac*, called nowe newe Spayne.

Howsoeuer the opinions are, certayne it is that the situation is called *Tenuchtilan*, and the dwellers there *Tenuchea Mexico*.

*Mexico* is as much to say, as a spring or fountayne, according to the proprietie of the bowell and speech.

Others doe affirme, that *Mexico* hath his name of a more auntiente time, whose first founders were called *Mexiti*, for vnto this day the Indian dwellers in one streete of this citie are called of *Mexita*. The *Mexiti* tooke name of their principallest Idoll called *Mexitli*, who was in as greate veneration as *Vitzilopuchli*, God of the warre.

*Mexico* is enuironed with swete water, and hath three wayes to come vnto it by calsey, the one is from the West, and that calsey is a mile and a halfe long. Another from the North, and conteyneth three myles in length. Eastwarde the Citie hath no entree. But Southwarde the Calsey is fyve myles long, whiche was the waye that *Cortez* entred into the Citie.

The lake that *Mexico* is planted in, although it seemeth one, yet it is two, for the one is of water saltish, bitter, and pestiferous, and no kinde of fysh lyueth in it. And the other water is wholesome, good and swete, and bringeth forth small fysh.

The salte water ebbeth and floweth, according to

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to

to the winde that bloweth. The swete water standeth higher, so that the good water falleth into the cull, and reuerteth not backward, as some hold opinion. The salt lake conteyneth fiftene miles in brecyth and fiftene in length, and moze than fise and forty in circuite, and the lake of swete water conteyneth euen as muche, in such sort, that the whole lake conteyneth moze than thirtie leagues, and hath about fiftie towncs situated round about it, many of whyche Townes doe conteyne fise thousand householdes, and some tenn thousande, yea and one Towne called *Texcoco*, is as bigge as *Mexico*. All this lake of water springeth out of a Mountayne that standeth within sight of *Mexico*. The cause that the one part of the lake is brackishe or saltish, is, that the bottome of ground is all salte, and of that water greate quantitie of salt is dayly made.

In this greate lake are about two hundred thousande little boates, which the *Indians* call *Acalles*, and the *Spanyarden* call them *Canoas*, according to the spæche of *Cuba* and *Santo Domingo*, wrought like a kneding trough: some are bigger than other some, according to the greatnesse of the body of y<sup>e</sup> tree whereof they are made. And where I number two hundred thousand of these boates, I speake of the least, for *Mexico* alone hath about fiftie thousande ordinarily to carrie and bying vnto the Citty victuall, prouision, and passengers, so that on the market day all y<sup>e</sup> strætes of water are full of them.

### The Market place of Mexico.



The Market is called in the *Indian* tong *Tlanquiztli*: every parish hath his Market place to buy and sel in: but *Mexico*, and *Tlatelulco* only, which are y<sup>e</sup> chiefest cities, haue great fayres and

and places fitte for the same, and especiallly *Mexico* hath one place where most dayes in the ycare is buying and selung, but euery fourth day is the greate Market ordinarily: and the like custome is vsed throughout the dominions of *Mexicuma*.

This place is wide and large, compassed round about with dores, and is so great, that a hundred thousand persons come thither to choppe and change, as a Citty most principall in all that region. Wherefoze the resort is from farre parties vnto that place. Euery occupatio and kinde of Marchandise hath his proper place appointed, which no other may by any means occupy or disturbe. Likewise precious wares haue their place accordinglye, (that is to say) Stone, timber, lyme, bricke, and all kinde of stufte brought, being necessarie to buyld withall. Also mattes both fine and course of sundry workmanship, also coles, woodde, and all sorts of Earthen vessell glazed and painted very curiously: Deare skinnes both rawe and tanned in haire and without haire, of many colours, for shoma-kers, for bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lynning of wooden Cozlelets: also skinnes of other beastes and foule in feathers ready dyed of all sortes, the colours and fraungnesse thereof was a thing to behold. The richest Marchandise was salte, and mantels of Cotten wolle of diuers colours, both great and small, some for beddes, others for garments and clothing, other for Tapissarie to hang houses, other cotten clothe for linnen breeches, Shirtes, table clothes, towels, naphkins, and suche like things.

There were also Mantels made of the leaues of the tree called *Meil*, and of *Palme tree*, & *Connie beare*, which are wel esteemed, being very warm, but y<sup>e</sup> couerlets made of feathers are the best: they sell threede made of *Connie beare*, pæces of linnen clothe made of cotten wolle, also

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skaynes of threed of all colours: also it is straunge, to see the great store of poultrie that is brought to that market, and although they eat the flesh of the fowle, yet the feathers serue for clothing, mixing one sorte with another. There are of these fowle so many sortes and severall colours, that I can not number them: some wilde, some tame, some water fowle, and other some of rapine. All the bzaucry of the market, is the place where golde and feathers toynly wrought is solde, for any thyng that is in request is there liuely wrought in golde and feathers and gallant colours. The *Indians* are so expert and perfite in this science, that they will worke or make a Butter flie, any wilde beaste, trees, roses, floures, hearbes, rootes or any other thyng so liuely, that it is a thyng marvelous to behold. It hapneth many tymes that one of these worke-men in a whole day will eat nothyng, onely to place one feather in his belw perfection, turning and tossing the feather to the light of the Sunne, into the shade or darke place, to see where is his moste naturall perfection, and till his worke be finished he will neyther eat nor drinke. There are few nations of so muche steame or sufferance. The Arte or Science of Goldsmiths among them is the moste curious, and very good workmanship engraven with toles made of flinte, or in moulde. They will caste a platter in moulde with eight corners, and every corner of severall mettall, that is to say, the one of golde, and the other of siluer, without any kinde of solder: they will also founde or cast a litle caudzen with lose handles hangyng thereat, as we vse to caste a Bell: they will also caste in moulde a fish of mettall with one scale of siluer on his back and another of gold: they will make a Parret or Poppingay of mettall, that his tongue shall shake, and his head moue, & his wings flutter: they will caste an Ape in mold, that both hands & fete shall stirre, & holde a spindle in his

hande

hande seeming to spinne, yea and an apple in his hande as though he would eat it. Our Spaniards were not a litle amazed at the sight of these things, for our Goldsmithes are not to be compared vnto them. They haue skil also of Amell worke, and to sette any precious Stone. But now as touchyng the markette, there is to sell Golde, Siluer, Copper, Leadde, Latton, and Tinne, although there is but little of the these laste mettals mentioned. There are Pearles, Precious Stones, diuers and sundry sortes of Shelles, and Bones, Sponges, and other pedlers ware, whiche certainly are many and straunge sortes, yea and a thing to laughe at their Haberdashe toys and trifles. There are also many kinde of hearbes, rootes, and seedes, as well to be eaten as for Medicine, for bothe men, women and chyldren haue great knowledge in hearbes, for though pouertie and necessity, they take them for theyr sustenance and helpe of theyr infirmities and diseases. They spende little among Whistons, although there are some of that Arte, and many Poticaries, who doe bying into the markette, oymments, Siropes, waters, and other Drugges fitte for sicke Persons: they cure all diseases almost, with hearbes, yea as muche as for to kill yse. they haue a proper hearbe for the purpose.

The severall kyndes of meates to be solde is without number, as Snakes without head & tayle, little Dogges gelte, Moules, Rattes, Long wormes, Lysc, yea and a kinde of earth, for at one season in the yere they haue Pettes of mayle with the which they rake vp a certayne duste that is bredde vpon the water of the lake of Mexico, and that is kneaded together like vnto oas of the sea: they gather much of this victuall, & keepe it in heapes, & make therof cakes like vnto wyckebats: they sell not only this ware in y<sup>e</sup> market, but also send it abroad to other sayres & markets a far of: they eat this meate w<sup>th</sup> as good stomake as



as we cate cheese, yea and they holde opinion that this skūme or fatnesse of the water, is y<sup>e</sup> cause that such great number of. foule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite.

They sel in this market venison by quarters or whole, as Does, Hares, Connies, and Dogges, and many other beastes, whiche they bring by for the purpose, and take in huntynge. There are a great number of shoppes that sell all kinde of orfall and tripes. It is a wonder to see how so much meate ready dressed coulde be spent. There is also fleshe and fishe roasted, boyled and baked, Pies and Custardes made of diuers sortes of egges, the great quantitie of bread is without number. Also corne of all sortes threshed and unthreshed. The greates store of sundry kyndes of fruytes is maruellous whiche are there solde, bothe greene and ripe: there is one sorte as bigge as Almondes called *Cacao*, whiche is bothe meate and currant money. There are diuers kind of colours to be solde, whiche they make of Roses, flowers, frutes, barks of trees, and other things very excellent: they sell there Honie of sundry kyndes, oyle of *Chia*, made of a seede like unto mustarde seede, and dynting any paynted clothe therewith, the water can not hurte it, they also dresse therewith their meate, although they haue both butter and larde. They sundry sortes of wines shalbe declared in an other plate: it woulde be a prolixious thing to rehearse all the things that are to be solde in that markette. There are in this fayre many Artificers, as Packers, Barbers, Cutlers, & many others, although it was thought that among these *Indians* were none such. All the things recited, and many others which I speake not of, are solde in every market of *Mexico*, all the sellers paye a certaine summe for theyr shoppes or standings to the King, as a custome, & they to be protected and defended from theues: and so that cause

there

there goe certayne Sergeants or officers by & downe the market to espie out malefactours. In the midst of the market standeth a house whiche may be seene throughout the fayre, & there sitteth twelue auncient men for iudges to dispatch lawe matters: their buying and selling is to chaunge one ware for another, as thus, one giueth a hen for a bundell of Maize, other giue mantels for salte, or money whiche is *Cacao*, and this is theyr order to choppe and chaunge: they haue measure and strike for all kynde of corne, and other earthen measures for Hony and Wine, and if any measure be falsified, they punish the offenders and bryake their measures.

### The great Temple of Mexico.



The Temple is called *Tenacalli*, that is to say, Gods house, *Tenacal* signifieth God, & *Calli* is a house, a word well very fitte, if that house had bene of the true God. The Spaniards that vnderstand not the language, do pronounce and call those Temples *Cues*, and the God *Vitzilopucheli*, & *Chilobos*. There are in *Mexico* many parish churches, with towres, wherein are chappels and Altares where the images & idols do stande, & those chappels do serue for buriall places of their founders, and the Parishioners are buried in the Churchyarde. All their temples are of one fashion, therefore it shal be nowe sufficient to speake of the cathedra church. And euen as those temples are all in generall of one making in that citie. I doe beleue that the lyke was neuer seene nor harde off. This temple is square, & doth containe euery way as much ground as a crossbow can reach leuell: it is made of stone, with foure dozes that abutteth vpon the three calles, and vpon an other parte of the Cittie, that hath no calley but a fayre streate.

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In the midst of this Quaderne standeth a mount of earth and stone square lykewise, and fiftie fadom long every way, buylt upward like vnto a pyramide of Egypt, sayng the toppe is not sharpe but playne and flatte, and ten fadom square: vpon the weast side, are steppes vp to the toppe, and were in number and hundzeth and fourtene, whiche beyng so many, high, and made of good stone vnder seme a beautifull thing. It was a straunge sight to behold the Priestes, some goyng by and some downe with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Vpon the toppe of this Temple are two great Alters, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or bynne of the wall, that scarcely a man mought go behind them at pleasure. The one Alter standeth on the right hande, & the other on the left, they were but of five fote highe, eche of them had the haske part made of stone, paynted with monstrous and foule figures, the Chappell was sayre & well wrought of Masons worke & timber, euery Chappell had thre loftes one aboue another, sustented vpon pillers, & with the height thereof it shewed like vnto a sayre tower, and beautified the Cittie a farre of: from thence a man mought see all the cittie and townes rounde aboute the lake, whiche was vndoubtedly a goodly prospect. And because Cortes & his company should see the beautie thereof, *Mutezuma* brought him thither, and shewed hym all the order of the Temple, euen from the fote to the toppe. There was a certaine plot or space for the idoll priestes to celebrate their seruice without disturbance of any. Their general prayers were made toward the rising of the sunne. Vpon eche alter standeth a great idoll. Beside this tower that standeth vnder the pyramide, there are fourtie towers great & small belonging to other little temples which stand in the same circuite, the which although they were of the same making, yet they prospect was not westwarde, but

other

otherwayes, because there should be a difference betwixt the great temple & them. Some of these Temples were bigger than others, and euery one of a seuerall God, among the whiche there was one rounde temple dedicated to the God of the ayre called *Quetzalcoatl*, for euery as the ayre goeth rounde about the heauens, euery for that consideration they made his temple rounde. The entrance of that Temple had a doze made lyke vnto the mouth of a Serpent, and was paynted with foule and Diuelish gestures, with great teeth & gummes wrought, whiche was a thing to feare those that should enter in thereat, & especially the Christians vnto whom it represented very well with that ugly face and monstrous teeth.

A strange  
dore.

There were other *Tenacalles* in the citie, that had the ascending by steps in thre places: all these temples had houses by themselves with all seruice & priestes & particular Gods. At euery doze of the great temple standeth a large Hall & goodly lodgings, both high and lowe round about, which houses were comon armories for the Citie, for the force and strength of euery towne is the temple, and therefore they haue there placed their store house of munition. They had other darke houses full of idols, greate & small, wrought of sundry mettals, they are all bathed and washed with bloud, and do shewe very blacke though they daily sprinklyng and anoynting the with the same, when any man is sacrificed: yea & the walles are an inche thicke with bloud, and the ground is a fote thicke of bloud, so that there is a diuelish stench. The Priestes or Ministers goeth daily into those Oratories, and suffer none others but great personages to enter in. Yea and when any such goeth in, they are bounde to offer some man to be sacrificed, that those bloudy hangmen and ministers of the Diuell may washe their handes in bloud of those so sacrificed, and to sprinkle their house therewith.

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For their service in the kitchen they haue a ponde of water that is filled once a yere, which is brought by conduct from the princypal fountayne. All the residue of the foyersayde circuite serueth for places to breede foule, with gardens of hearbes and sweete trees, with Roses and flowers for the Altars. Such, so great & straunge was this temple of *Mexico*, for the seruite of the Diuell who had deceiued those simple *Indians*. There dothe reside in the same temple continually fve thousand persons, and all they are lodged and haue theyr liuing there, for that temple is maruellous riche, & hath diuers townes onely for their maintenance and reparation, and are bounde to sustayne the same alwayes on foote. They doe some coyne, and maintayne all those fve thousande persons with bread, fruite, flesh, fishe, and firewoodde as much as they neede, for they spende more firewoodde than is spent in the kings court: these persons doe liue at their hartes ease, as seruauntes and bassals vnto the Goddes. *Mutezuma* brought Cortes to this temple, bicause his men shoulde see the same, and to enforme them of his religion and holinesse, wherof I will speake in an other place, being the most straunge and cruellest that euer was harde off.

### The Idols of Mexico.



The Gods of *Mexico*, were two thousand in number, as the *Indians* reported, the chiefest were *Vircilopucheli* and *Tezcatlipuca*, whose images stode highest in the Temple vppon the Altars: they were made of stone in ful proportion as bigge as a Gyant. They were couered with a lawne called *Nacar*. These images were besette with pearles, precious stones, & pæces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts, fishes, and

and flowers, adozned with Emeralsds, Turquoies, Calcedons, and other little fine stones, so that when the lawne *Nacar* was taken away, the Images seemed very beautiful to beholde.

The Image had for a girdle great snakes of gold, and for collozrs or chapnes about their neckes, ten hartes of men, made of golde, and each of those Idolles had a counterfeit visor with eyes of glasse, and in their necks death painted: each of these things hadde their considerations and meanings. These two Goddes were brethren, for *Tezcatlipuca* was the God of Providence, and *Vircilopucheli* God of the warres, who was worshipped and feared more than all the rest.

There was another God, who hadde a greate Image placed vppon the toppe of the Chappell of Idols, and hee was esteemed for a speciall and singular God aboue all the rest. This God was made of all kinde of seedes that groweth in that Countrey, and being ground, they made a certayne past, tempered with childrens bloud, and Virgins sacrificed, who were opened with their razures in the breastes, and their hartes taken out, to offer as first fruites vnto the Idoll. The Priestes and Ministers doe consecrate this Idoll with great pomp and many Ceremonies. All the *Comarcans* and Citizens are presente at the consecration, with great triumph and incredible deuotion. After the consecration, many deuoute persons came and sticke in the boloy Image precious stones, wedges of golde, and other Jewels. After all this pomp ended, no secular man mought touche that holye Image, no nor yet come into his Chappell, nay scarcely religious persons, except they were *Tlamacazeli*, who are Priestes of order. They doe renew this Image many times wpyth new dough, taking away the olde, but then blessed is hee that can get one peece of the olde ragges for reliques, and

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chiefly for souldoyers, who thought themselves sure therewith in the warres. Also at the consecration of thys Idol, a certayne vessel of water was blessed with manye wordes and ceremonies, and that water was preserved very religiously at the fote of the altar, for to consecrate the King when he should be crowned, and also to blesse any Captayne generall, when he should be elected for the warres, with only giuing him a draught of that water.

### The Charnell house or place of dead

*mens sculles for remembrance of death.*



Without the temple, and ouer againste the principall doze thereof, a stones cast distant, standeth the Charnell house onely of dead mens heads prisoners in warres and sacrificed with the knife.

This monument was made like vnto a Theatre, more larger than broad, wrought of lyme and stone, with ascending steppes, in the walles whereof was graffed betwixt stone and stone a skul with the teeth outwards.

At the fote and head of this Theatre, were two Towers, made only of lime and skulles the teeth outwarde, and this wall hauing no other stiffe, seemed a straunge sight. At and vpon the toppe of the Theatre, were 70. poles, standing the one from the other four or fve fote distant, and eache of them was full of stauess from the fote to the toppe. Each of these stauess had others made fast vnto them, so that euery of them had fve skulles broathed through the temples. *Andr   de Tapia* did certifie me, that he and *Gonsalo de Umbria* dyd reckon them in one daye, and founde a hundred thirtie and sixe thousande skulles on the poles, stauess, and steppes. The other Towers

were replenished out of number, a most cruell custome, being only mens heads slaine in sacrifice, although it hath a shewe of humanitie for the remembrance there placed of death. There are also men appoynted, that when one skul falleth, to set vp another in his place, so that the number may neuer want.

### How Cortez tooke Mutezuma

*prisoner.*



*Ernando Cortez* and his companie, were sixe dayes in beholding and perusing the scituati  n of the Citie, and secretes of the same, with the notable thinges befoze rehearsed: they were often visited by *Mutezuma*, & the Gentlemen of hys Courte, and abundantly provided of things necessarie for his vse, and the *Indians* of his company.

Likewise his Horses were cherished and serued with greene barley and grasse, whereof there is plentie all the yeare: Likewise of corne, meale, roses, and of all thynges that their owners would request, in so much that beddes of floures were made for them in place of litter. But yet notwithstanding, although they were in this sorte cherished, and also lodged in so riche a Countrey, where they mighte spill their purses, they were not yet all contente and merrie, but rather with great feare and care, especially *Cortez*, who hadde the onely care as head and chiefe Captayne for the defence of hys fellows, hee (I saye) was pensue, noting the scituation of the Citie, the infinite number of people, the state and maiestie of *Mexico*, yea and some disquietnesse of hys owne companie, who woulde come and laye vnto hys charge the snare and nette that they were in, thynkyng it a thyng vnpossible that anye of them coulde escape,

*A sweete bedde.*

Determina-  
tion of  
Cortez.

if *Mutezuma* were thereunto determined, or else with the least muteny in the worlde, that might be rayled in the Citie, although that euery inhabitant shoulde throw but one stone at them, or else to breake vp the drawbridges, or withdrawing their victuals. things verie easie to be done. With this greate care that he had of the preservation of his fellowes, and to remedie the perill and daunger that he stode in, he determined to apprechē *Mutezuma*, and to builde foure ffortes to haue the lake in subiection, which he hadde tofore ymaged, and without the apprehension of the King, he coulde not come by the Kingdome: he would verie gladly haue buyt the ffortes out of hand, but he left off that pretence only, because he would not delay the imprisonment of *Mutezuma*, wherein consisted the effect of all his businesse, so that forthwith he minded to put in execution his intent, without giuing any of his company to vnderstand thereof.

The quarrell wherewith he had armed himselfe for that purpose, was, that the Lozde *Qualpopoca* hadde slayne nine *Spanyardes*: likewise encouraged him the greate presumption of his letters written to the Emperour *Charles* his king, wherein he wrote that he would take *Mutezuma* prisoner, and dispossesse him of his Emprye. These causes considered, he toke the letters of *Pedro Hircio*, wherein was written, howe *Qualpopoca* was the cause of the death of nine *Spanyardes*, and put those letters into his pocket, and walking vp and downe his lodging, tossing to and fro these ymaginations in his bryne, full of care of the great enterpryse that he had in hande, yea he hymselfe iudging the matter doubtfull, and his head beeing in this sort occupied, he chanced to espye one wall more whiter than the rest, and beholding the same, he sawe that it was a doze lately dammed vp, & calling vnto him two of his seruants (for all the residue were asleepe) by

cause

Treasury  
of Mutez-  
uma.

cause it was late in the night, he opened that doze, and went in, and there found sundry halles, some with Idols, some with gallant feathers, Jewels, precious stones, plate, yea and such an infinite quantitie of golde, that the sight thereof amazed him, and other gallant things that made him to maruell. He shutte thys doze agayne as well as he thought, without touching any part of that treasure, because he would not make any vproze thereabout, nor yet to delay the imprisonment of *Mutezuma*, for that treasure was alwayes there to be had.

The next daye in the morning came certayne *Spanyardes* vnto hym, and manye *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, saying that the Citizens did goe about to conspire their deathe, and to breake downe the bridges of the calleys, to byng their purpose the better to passe. So that with this newes, being true or false, Cortes left the one halfe of his men to defende and keepe his lodging, and at euery crosse steepe he planted me, and the residue he sent to the Court by two and two, and three and three, and he hymselfe came to the pallaice, saying that he must talke wth *Mutezuma* of matters that did import their liues. Cortes was secretly armed. *Mutezuma* hearinge howe Cortes attended for hym, came forth and receyued him, taking him by the hand, and placed him in his seate. Thirtie *Spanyardes* waited vpon Cortes, and the residue abode without at the doze.

Cortes talked wth *Mutezuma* according to his accustomed manner, and began to tell and talke merily as he was wont to do. *Mutezuma* beinge carelesse of the thing that fortune hadde prepared agaynst hym, was also verie merry, and pleased wth that conuersation. He gaue vnto Cortes Jewels of golde, and one of his daughters, and other noble mens daughters to others of his company. Cortes receyued the gift, for otherwise it hadde bin

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a frent unto *Mutezuma*. But yet he enformed him, that he was a married man, and that he coulde not marrie with his daughter, for the Christian law did not permitte the same, nor yet that any Christian might have more than one wife, vppon payne of infamy, and to be marked in the forehead.

After all this talke ended, *Cortez* took the letters of *Pedro Hircio*, and caused them to be interpreted unto *Mutezuma*, making bys gricuous complaynte agaynst *Qualpopoca*, who hadde slayne so many *Spaniards* through bys commandement, yea and that his subiectes had published, that they woulde kill the *Spaniards*, and breake downe the bridges.

*Mutezuma* excused himselfe earnestly, as well of the one as of the other, saying, the report giuen out agaynst bys subiectes was false and untrue, and as for *Qualpopoca* who had slayne the *Spaniards*, he was innocent thereof: and because that he shoulde be the truth, he called in certayne of his seruantes, commanding the to goe for *Qualpopoca*, and gaue unto them his scale, whiche was a stone that he made at his mozt, engrained with the figure of the God *Puzlopuchili*, and the messengers departed thence with incontinent.

*Cortez* replied and sayd: My Lord your highnesse must goe with me to my lodging, and there abide, untill your messengers retorne with *Qualpopoca*, and the certainty of the death of my men: In my lodging your highnesse shall rule and command as you do here in Court, no person shall be well liked, whereof I take you in care, for I will haue respect unto your house, as to mine owne proper, as the house of my King, bestowing you in pardon me in this my respect, for if I should haue other will, and dissemble with you, my selfe should be offended with me, saying that I doe not defende them,

atcoz

according to due tie. Wherefore commaund your house, holde seruantes to repose themselves without alteration, for be you assured, that if any hurte come vnto me, or vnto anye of mine, your person shall pay the same with life, considering that it lyeth in your hand to goe quietly with me.

*Mutezuma* was sore amazed, saying, Sir, my person is not fytte to be a prisoner, yea, and though I woulde permitte the same, my subiectes would not suffer.

They abode arguing the matter nere foure houres, and at length *Mutezuma* was content to goe, hauing promise that he should rule and gouerne as he was wont to do. *Cortez* commaunded a place in his lodging to be trimmed for him, and he went forthwith thither with *Cortez*. Where came many noble men barefooted, weeping and lamenting the case, carrying their best garmentes vnder their armes, and brought a rich seate, whereon *Mutezuma* was placed, & they carried hym vpon their shoulders.

When it was blowne abroade in the Citie that *Mutezuma* was carried prisoner to the *Spaniards* lodging, all the Citie was in an vprore: but yet *Mutezuma* did comfort the Gentlemen that carried and followed him weeping, praying them to cease their lamentation, saying that he was not prisoner, nor yet went with the Christians agaynst his will, but for his owne pleasure. *Cortez* appointed a *spanish* garde for him, with a Captayne, the which he daily changed, and had *Spaniards* alway in his company to make him pass time: Also were *Mutezuma* was comforted with their conversation, & gaue the full rewards.

A sorrowful pastime.

He was serued with his owne seruants *Indians*, as at home in his owne house. *Cortez* alway intreated him to put off sadnes, & to be merry, permitting him to dispatch letters, & to deale in all affaires of his estate, & to commune and talke openly & secretly with his noble men as he was wont to

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do, and that was but onely a bayte to bring them to the booke. There was neuer Greke nor Romaine, nor any other nation since the name of Kings was ordeyned, dyd geue y<sup>e</sup> lyke enterpryse, as *Hernando Cortez* dyd, in taking *Mutezuma* prisoner in his owne house, being a most mighty King, & in a most strong fort among infinite people, he hauyng but only 450. companions.

### The recreation of Hunting, vvhiche

*Mutezuma* vsed.



*Mutezuma* had not only al the libertie that he desired in the Citie, being prisoner among the *Spanyards*, but also *Cortes* permitted him to hunt and haunke, or to go to the temple, for he was very deuoute, and a great hunter.

When he went a hunting, he was carried vpon mens shoulders with eyght or ten *Spanyards* in his guard, and thow thousands *Mexicans*, who were Gentlemen, his servants, and hunters, of whome he had a great number, some to seeke the game, others to beate the conettes, and others to marke. Some of those hunters were only for hares and conyes, other for all sortes of *Deere*, *Wolues*, *foxes*, and such like. They were very perfitte with theyr bowes, and good markeme, for he that missed his marke at fourescore paces distant was punished. It was strange to see the number of people that wente with him on hunting, and to see the slaughter of beastes killed, with haunke, haunke, netton, and bowen, some of those beastes were tame, and other beastes and fowles, as *Spanyards*, *Digges*, and *Quinces*. It is a hard thing to take a netton without hunting as they do, being in manner a naked people, and the beaste soouragious and strong, but yet the *Spanyards* with sight and cunning is better than strength.

It is a more straugethyng to take any soule that flieth in the ayre as their *Fauconers* doe, for after they haue once marked and set eye vpon any soule, the *Fauconers* of *Mutezuma* will vnder take to catch him, although the soule be neuer so swifte of wing, being at the least so commaunded by the King. It happened one day that *Mutezuma* stode in his gallerie with his *Guarde* of *Spanyards*, who had espied a fayre Hauke soying in the ayre, oh quoth they what a fayre Hauke flieth ponder, *Mutezuma* hearyng their talke, called vnto him certayne of his *Fauconers*, commaunding them to followe that Hauke & to bring him vnto him. The *Fauconers* wente to fulfill his request, and followed that soule with such diligence, that in shorte space they brought the Hauke vnto him, who presented the same vnto the *Spanyards*, a thing truly almoste incredible, but yet certified by word and wytyngs of the present witnesses. Their chiefest and most pleasant pastime of Hauking was, of lightes, *Ramens*, *Crowes*, *Dies*, and other birdes of hardie stomake and bolowen flight, greate and small of all sortes, for the which he had *Egles*, *Buyters*, and other soules of rappyne marueylous swifte of wing, and suche as woulde mounte very high in the ayre, with the whiche they murdered *Hares*, *Wolues*, and (as some say) *Hartes*.

He had other soulers, that vled *Nettes*, *Snares*, and sundry engine, *Mutezuma* vled much to shote his *trouke*, and with his bow killed many wilde beastes. His houles of pleasure as I haue before declared, stode fye myles from the Citie in pleasant woddes: and alwayes when he went a hunting after the tyme that he was prisoner, the same day he would retorne agayne to *Cortes* his lodging, although he hauncked & feasted with the *Spanyards* at his places of sporting and pastime, and would alwayes at his retorne to his lodging geue some present vnto the



that he accompanied him that says  
Cortes seeing the liberalitie of *Moteczuma*, sayde unto  
him: for my company are onely fellows, and as I un-  
derstand, they haue founde out some of your treasure, and  
haue made people thereof: therefore I would knowe your  
pleasure what shall be done with this. And in effect he was  
the treasure that *Cortez* himselfe had founde out. *Moteczuma*  
answered saying, for that treasure which they haue  
founde, did appertayne unto the Goddes: But yet not-  
withstanding, let them leaue the feathers, and all such  
things as are meete for gods, and all the rest we  
take for you and for us, and if you will haue more, I will  
procure it for you. And *Cortez* answered him, saying, I will  
take what you please.

**How Cortez began to plucke downe**  
the Idols of Mexico.

When *Moteczuma* went into the temple, he  
went leaving upon a noble stand arms,  
and all his weapons, and a noble  
he personage in his robes before him  
with three small banners in his hande, sig-  
nifying thereby that the King in person  
was there at hand, and in token also of iustice and cor-  
rection. As he had bene carried upon a shielders then at  
his right hande, he was one of those rodders into his  
arms. He was a man full of ceremonies in all his  
doings, but the substance of his estate is already de-  
scribed, from the time that *Cortez* entred into Mexico, till it this  
present. Those first dayes that the Spaniards entred  
the Citie, as often as *Moteczuma* went to the temple, the  
people were slaine in sacrifice, and so pious and  
abominable, and so much committed in the presence of  
the Christians who were in company of *Moteczuma*, *Cortez*  
required

required *Moteczuma*, to commande that no mannes blood  
should be any more spoyled, or blood should be in sacrifice,  
and in not fulfilling his request, he would bestow with  
the temple and Citie. Also he signified unto him, that he  
himselfe, would thinke to done the Idols, before the pre-  
sence and all the Citizens. And *Moteczuma* answered him, saying,  
I will do as you please, saying, It may please  
you to leave of your determination, least that in so doing  
all the Citie fall into an uprore and rebellion to defende  
their god, Gods, and ancient Religion, the which Gods  
haue alwayes provided them of water, bread, health, light,  
and all other things as default. This notwithstanding, the  
first time that *Moteczuma* wente to the temple after his  
imprisonment, *Cortez* and his company wente with him,  
and many of them layde hands upon the Idols, and threw  
them downe headlong from their seates, and Altars, and  
other Chapels. And againe with this sight was so great  
agony, and his subjects ready to take weapon to slay  
them there present, but yet *Moteczuma* commanded his  
subjects to stay from their presence, beseeching *Cortez*  
to stay from his proceedings, at whose request *Cortez* re-  
sced, for he thought as yet it was not for the purpose  
and pretence; but he declared unto them by his interpre-  
ters as followeth.

**The exhortation that Cortez made**

to *Moteczuma* and to the Citizens of Mexico,  
concerning their Idols.

All creatures in the world (mightie prince,  
and ye Gentlemen and religious persons)  
whether it be ye here or ye in Spayne,  
or whatsoever other nation that it may  
be, here I say, all one begynning and  
ending

ending of mortall life, whiche is had from God: we are al  
formed and made of one mettall, and haue all soules and  
senses, euen so doubtlesse as we are like in propozition of  
body and soule, yea and himselfe in blood, although that  
by the providence of the same our God, some are bozne  
fayre and beautifull, and other some so ble and disfigured:  
some of one colour, and some of another: some prudent and  
wise, and other some, some and foolish, without eyther  
iudgement or vertue: in the which his marvellous works  
God sheweth himselfe iust, holy and almightie, giuing  
those seuerall giftes, to the intent that the wise and lear-  
ned might teache the rude and ignorant, and to guide  
the blinde into the right way of saluation, by the steppes  
of true and vnfaigned religion.

Wherefore I and my fellows, as your gesses and kin-  
men, according to equitie doe praiture and wish the same  
unto you. A man and his life consisteth in these things  
as ye shal vnderstande, that is body, soule, and goods: as  
for your goods and riches, whiche is the least that we  
desire, for ye know well that we haue taken nothing for-  
eible from you, but onely those things whiche ye haue  
freely and liberally giuen us: likewise we haue not hurt,  
misused or molested your persons, wives or children, nor  
yet do meane any such thing, your soules health onely is  
the thing we seeke, for your saluation, and that we now  
pretende to shewe, and to geue vnto your perfitte notice of  
the true and euermourning God, There is none of naturall  
iudgement can denie, but that there is one God, but yet  
through ignorance and decepte of the Diuell, will also  
thinke that there are many Goddes, and not acerte vnto  
the true God. But I doe say and most assuredly certifie  
you, that there is no other true God, but onely he whome  
we Christians doe serue, adore, and worshippe, the which  
is one eternall, without beginning and without ende,  
the

the onely creato: & gouernour of things created: he alone  
made the heauens, the Sunne, the Moone, and Starres,  
the whiche his creatures ye doe worship: he (I say) found-  
ed and made the Sea, and the sundry and maruelous fi-  
shes therein: he planted and made the lande with all the  
monstrous beastes therein, soules likewise in the ayre,  
Plantes, Hearbes, Stones and suche like. Al the whiche  
creatures ye as blinde and ignorant do hold for Goddes.

Our almighty God after he had finished and made all  
the former workes with his own blessed hands, made one  
man & one woman, and being so formed and wrought, he  
put a soule and breath into each body, and then deliuered  
the worlde vnto them, shewing them Paradise and glo-  
ry. So that of that manne and woman, we all mortall  
menne proceeded in generation, and in this sorte are  
the handy worke of God, kinsmen and brethren. Nowe  
if we will come vnto God our father, it is needefull and  
necessary that we be good, vertuous, pitifull, innocent and  
vnder obedience, the whiche ye can not be if you wor-  
shippe statues, images, idols, and vse bloody sacrifice of  
mans flesh. Is there any of you that woulde willingly  
be slayne? no truely: why then doe you slea other so cru-  
elly, and where you can put no soules, why doe you take  
them from thence? there is none of you, nor your false  
Gods, that can make soules, nor can forge mens bodies  
of flesh and bone, for if ye coulde, there is none of you  
woulde be without children, according to your owne ap-  
petite and desire, in fashion, beautie and workmanship.  
But where our God of heauen dothe make al creatures,  
he useth therein his owne discretion, and giueth chil-  
dren to whome hee pleaseth: and therefore is he God  
alone, and for these causes shoulde ye haue, esteeme, and  
worshippe him for suche a mightie God, desirving of him  
by prayers to giue rayne and temperature, that the earth  
ff. may

may bring forth Corne, Fruite, Hearbes, Fleſhe, Soule, and all other necessaries for the sustentation of lyfe. All these thyngs the harde stones giueth not vnto you, no no; yet your dye wooden images & colde mettall, neyther yet the small seedes wherewith your seruants and slaues, with theyr filthy handes doe make these images and soule statues, the whiche yee doe worshippe. What sonde people and madde religious persons, who worship theyr owne workmanship, doe ye thinke that they are Gods that rotte and moldre away, and haue no lyfe, and can neyther helpe no; kill? Therefore I say vnto you, that nowe and hereafter there is no cause that yee shoulde haue any moe idoles, no; yet any moe slaughterers for sacrifice, no no; yet to make any moe prayers or supplications vnto them, being bothe Blinde, Deafe, and Dumme.

Will yee knowe who is God, and where he is: liſte by your eyes vnto Heauen, and then shall you vnderſtande that aboue is a Godhead or Deitie that moueth the heauens, and governeth the course of the Sunne, ruleth the Lande and replenisheth the Sea, who prouideth for Man and Beast bothe Corne and Water. This God whome yee nowe imagine in your hartes, him (I say) serue and worshippe, not with death of menne or blood, by sacrifice abominable, but with deuotion and humble prayer as we Christians doe. And consider well, that to teach and instruct you, these things, was the cause of our comming hither.

With this exhortation, Cortes aplaked the yre of the Priestes and Citizens, theyr idols being thowen downe, Mutezuma toke order that no moe shoulde be sette vp, commaunding to swaep and make cleane the Chappels of the stinking blood that was in the, forbidding sacrifice of mans fleshy. Mutezuma and his officers made a solempne bowe

bowe and promise to permitte no more slaughter of men, and to set vp a Crosse for remembrance of the death and passion of Iesu Christe borne of the virgin Marie. The whiche their promise was well fulfilled, for after that day the Spaniards coulde neuer heare no; finde of any moe sacrifice: But yet there abode in their hartes a moe tall rancor, the whiche coulde not long be dissimuled.

Truely in this worthy facte Cortes gotte more honour than though he had ouercomen them in battayle.

### The burning of the Lorde Qual

*popoca and other Gentlemen.*



After twentie dayes that Mutezuma had bene prysoner, returned the messengers who had gone with the seale for Qualpopoca, and brought him, his Sonne, and other fiftene principall persons, with them, the whiche by inquirie made, were culpable and partakers in the counsell and death of the nine Spaniards. Qualpopoca entred into Mexico accompanied like a greate Lorde as he was, being borne vpon his seruants shoulders in rich furniture. As sone as he had saluted Mutezuma, he & his Sonne were deliuered vnto Cortes, with the other fiftene Gentlemen. Cortes placed them asunder, and commaunded them to be put in Irons, and theyr examinations taken, they confessed that they had slayne those Spaniards in battayle.

Cortes demaunded of Qualpopoca if he were subiect to Mutezuma, why (quoth he) is there any other Prince to whome I might be in subiection: giuing almost to vnderstand that he was a Lorde absolute. Cortes answered, that a farre greater Prince was the King of Spayne, whose subjects vnder colour of friendship and salserconduct he

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had

It was  
maruel that  
Cortez  
was not  
eaten for  
an here-  
take.

had slayne. But (quoth he) nowe shalte thou make payment thereof. And beyng agayne more straighter examined, they confessed that they had slayne two Spanyardes by the aduice and inducement of the greates prince *Mutezuma*, and the residue were slayne in the warres, and had assaulted their houses, and entred their countrey, wherefore they helde it lawfull to kill them.

Through the confession pronounced by their owne mouthes, sentence was giuen against them, and they condemned to be burned, whiche sentence was openly executed in the market place in sight of all the people, without any mutine or slaughter, and with great silence, terrour & feare of the newe maner of iustice which they sawe there executed vpon so noble a man, in the chiefe seate and kyngdome of *Mutezuma*, beyng gestes and straungers.

### The cause of the burnyng of *Qualpopoca*.



**A**T the time that *Cortes* departed from *Vera Cruz*, he left in comission to *Pedro Hircio*, to procure to inhabite in that place which is called *Almeria*, & not to permit *Francisco de Garray* to sojourne there, for so much as once he was driuen fro that coast. Now *Hircio* to fulfill his comission, sente to requyre those *Indians* with peace and friendship, and to yelde themselves for vassals of the Emperour. *Qualpopoca* Lorde of *Nahutlan*, which is now called as aforesaid *Almeria*, sent to aduertise *Pedro Hircio*, that he could not come to yelde his obedience, for the enemies that were in the way: but if it would please him to sende some of his men, for the securitie of the way, he would willingly come vnto him. *Hircio* hearing this answer, sent foure of his men, giuing

credite

credite to his message, and for the desire he hadde to inhabite there.

When the foure *Spanyardes* came into the prouince of *Nahutlan*, there mette with them many armed men, who slew two of them, and made thereof a great triumph: the other two escaped sore wounded, and returned with that newes to the Towne of *Vera Cruz*. *Pedro Hircio* believing that *Qualpopoca* had done that iniurie, armed out agaynst hym fiftie *Spanyardes*, and ten thousand *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, with two horses, and two peeces of Ordnance.

*Qualpopoca* hearing this newes, came with a mightie power to driue them out of his Countrey, and in that encounter, seauen *Spanyardes* were slayne, and many *Zempoallan*es, but at the ende he was overcome, his Countrey spoiled, and Towne sacked, and many of his army slaine and taken captiues. The prisoners declared, that by the commaundement of the greates Lorde *Mutezuma*, all this bypote was attempted by *Qualpopoca*: it mighte well be, for at the houre of death they confessed the same. But some affirme, they sayde so, but to excuse themselves, and to lay the fault to the *Mexicans*, *Hircio* wrote these newes to *Cortez* beyng in *Chololla*, and through these letters *Cortez* apprehended *Mutezuma* (as is afoze declared.)

### How Cortez put a payre of giues on *Mutezuma* his legges.



**B**Efoze the execution of *Qualpopoca* and hys fellowes, *Cortes* declared vnto *Mutezuma*, that *Qualpopoca* and his company had confessed, that by hys aduice and commaundement, the nine *Spanyardes* were slayne, wherein he had done very euill, they being his friendes and guesstes: but (quoth he) if it were not in respect of the

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laue

loue I beare vnto you, this matter shoulde not in this sort be shut vp, and then knocked a payre of giues on his legges, saying, he that killeth ought to be killed, according to the lawes of God. These things did Cortes, because he shoulde occupie himselfe in his owne grieve and sorrow, and to let other mens passe.

Mutezuma waxed pale w<sup>th</sup> countenance of death, through the great feare that he was in, seeing himselfe in Irons, a new and strange thing for such a great King, excusing himselfe that he was innocent of the facte. And as soone as the execution of burning was done, Cortes commaunded to put away the Irons that Mutezuma ware, offering him libertie, and willing him to goe vnto his owne palace, who reioyced much to see himselfe out of the Irons, and gaue Cortes most hartie thanks, and refused to goe home to his owne pallace, surmising that the offer was but wordes, or else fearing least his subiects would kill him, seeing him out of the Spanyardes power, for permitting himselfe to be taken prisoner, and so to be kept. He sayd also, that if he went from them, his subiects would rebell, and compell him to kill the Spanyardes.

Truly the poore simple soule was of small heart and courage, to suffer himselfe to be taken prisoner, and after his imprisonment would neuer procure libertie, Cortes offering it vnto him, and many of his noble men desired him. And remayning in that order, there was none in Mexico durst offende any Spanyard for feare of displeasing him, for Quialpopoca came 70. leagues with only warning him that the great Lord had sent for him, shewing hym the figure of his seale, yea and al the p<sup>er</sup>es of his realme that dwelte farthest off, were ready to obey his commaundementes.

How

## Hovv Cortez sent to seeke for Mines of golde into diuers places.



Cortez had a greate desire to know how farre the Empire of Mutezuma byd extende, and what friendship was betwixte him and other Kings and Princes Comalcans, and also to gather together a good summe of gold, to send to Spayne to the Emperour, for his custome or firste parte, with full relation of the Countrey people, and things happened vntill that day. Wherefore he prayed Mutezuma to shew him where the mynes were, from whence he and his subiectes had the golde and plate. Mutezuma graunted to his request, and incontinent appoynted eyght Indians, of the which four were Goldsmithes, who had knowledge and vnderstanding of Spynes, and the other foure were guides for the iourney. He commaunded them that by two and two they shoulde goe into foure p<sup>ro</sup>uinces, that is to say Zucolla, Malinaltepec, Tenich, and Tutepec, with other eyght Spanyardes whiche Cortez appoynted, to haue knowledge of the riuers and mynes of gold, and to bring a mofter of the same. The eyght Spanyardes departed on their iourney, with the other eyght Indians, with tokens from Mutezuma. Zucolla is 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Lord thereof is subiect to Mutezuma, who shewed vnto the Spanyardes thre riuers with golde, and gaue of each riuer a mofter thereof, although it were but little, for with want of knowledge they knew not wel the manner how to get it out of the riuer. These messengers in their iourney to and fro, passed through thre p<sup>ro</sup>uinces full of people and habitatiō, with good buildings & frates full ground, and the people of the one of them called Tlammaculpan, are of good reason and iudgemente, and better apparelled than the Mexicans.

Malinal-

*Malinaltepec* is 70. leagues from *Mexico*, from whence also they brought moſters of golde, the which is had out of a great riuer, by the naturals of that Countrey.

*Tenich* ſtandeth by towarde the head of the ſame riuer of *Malinaltepec*, who are people of another language, and would not permitte our men to haue relation of the thing that they ſought. The Lord of that place is called *Coatelicamatl*, who is not ſubiect to *Mutezuma*, nor yet is his friende, thinking that his men hadde bin eſpies: but when he was enſormed who they were, he gaue the *Spanyardeſ* licence to be reſolued of their affayres, but ſtraitly commaunded, that the *Indians* of *Mexico* ſhould not preſume to come into his dominion. When the *Mexicans* hearde theſe newes, they required the *Spanyardeſ* not to credite that *Cazike*, ſaying, that he was an euill and a cruell man, and would ſurely kill them. Our men were ſomewhat amazed, fearing to talke with *Coatelicamatl*, although they hadde his licence, ſeying the people of the countrey armed with Launces of ſiue and twenty ſote lōg: but yet at lēgth leauing cowardice aſide, they proceeded ſoꝝwards. *Coatelicamatl* receyued thē curteouſly, and ſhewed them ſixe or ſeauen riuers with golde, out of the which graynes of golde were taken in his preſence, who gaue the ſame moſter vnto them, and ſente alſo his Embaſſadoꝝ to *Cortez*, offering his lande and perſon vnto him, with certayne mantels, and Jewels of golde.

*Cortez* more reioyced of the Embaſſage, than of the gold and preſents, knowing thereby that *Mutezuma* hys enimies deſired his friendſhippe: but *Mutezuma* and hys counſell liked not the matter, ſoꝝ although *Coatelicamatl* is no great Lord, yet his people are good ſouldyers, and his countrey full of wilberneſſe, of Rocks and Mountaynes. The other that wente to *Tutepec*, which ſtandeth nere the ſea coaſt, and twelue leagues frō *Malinaltepec*, returned

returned likewise with moſter of golde of two Riuers, and brought newes that the Countrey was fit to buylde vppon, with hope to reape muche golde, finding once an arte to get it out of the riuer.

*Cortez* hearing theſe newes, prayed *Mutezuma* to build a houſe there in the name of the Emperoure *Charles*, who incontinente ſente thither workemen and labourers, whyche within two monethes hadde built a greate houſe, and other thꝛe little houſes round aboute it, with a ponde of water full of fiſhe, and ſiue hundred Duckes, and a thouſand ſiue hundred Turkie cockes and hennes, and muche houſholde ſtuſſe, ſo that the giſte was worth twentie thouſand Caſtling of golde. He gaue vnto hym alſo twenty buſhels of the grayne called *Centli*, readye ſowen, and two thouſand ſtockes of trees called *Cacauatl*, whiche bringeth foꝝthe the fruite *Cacao*, that ſerueth foꝝ money and meate. *Cortez* began this huſbandrye, but yet made not an ende thereof, with the coming of *Pamfilo de Naruaiz*, and the vꝛꝛꝛꝛ in *Mexico*, whiche ſhortly folloiwed. He alſo beſoughte *Mutezuma* to certifie him if there were any ſure poꝛte or harbor on the Sea coaſt, where the Spaniſh nauie mought ride in ſafetie: he answered that he knew of none, but that he would ſende to make enquirie thereof. And ſoꝝthwith he commaunded all that coaſt to be painted in a cloath made of cotton woll, with all the riuers, bayes, crēkes and capes that were within his dominion. In all the ſame poꝛtrayture did not appeare any poꝛte, ſkale, or ſure roade, ſauyng a gulfe that falleth out of the Mountaynes, which place is now called the harbor of *Saint Martine*, and *Saint Anthonic* in the prouince of *Coazacoalco*. The *Spanyardeſ* thought the ſame to be a ſtraight or paſſage into the South ſea, to paſſe vnto the *Maluccos* and ſpicerie, but they were deſeined although they belēued the thing that they deſired.

Cortes for this purpose sent tenne Spanyardes, all good marriners and Wylots, in companye of the Indians that *Mutezuma* sent on that voyage at his owne cost.

They departed, and came to *Chalohicoeca*, where firste they came aland, the which place is now called *S. Iohn de Pllua*.

They wente 70. leagues along the coast, without finding any Riuer, although they mette with many brookes of shallowe water, not fytte for a roade for Shyppes.

They apoynted at *Coazacoaleco*, the Lozde whereof was enimie to *Mutezuma*, hys name was *Tuchintlec*, who friendly receyued the Spanyardes, for he hadde intelligence of them, at their lying at *Potonchan*. He gaue vnto them boates, to sounde and seeke the Riuer, where they found sixe fadome in deapth, and wente vpp that Riuer twelue leagues, wher they descryed many great townes, and it seemed a fruitfull soyle. This *Cazike Tuchintlec*, sente vnto *Cortes* with the Spanyards certayne gold, precious Stones, and cloth of cotten, with apparrell made of skynnes, and tygers, requesting his friendship, and to admitte him tributarie to the Emperour, paying yearly a certayne portion of his riches, with suche condition, that the Indians of *Culhua* should not enter into his iurisdiction.

*Cortes* muche reioysed with these messages, and was glad of the finding of the faire riuer, for the Marriners hadde enformed hym, that from the riuer of *Grijalua* vnto *Panuco*, was no riuer to be found, but he beleue they were deceyued. *Cortes* returned backe agayne some of those messengers, with a present of Spanissh ware for *Tuchintlec*, and to be better enformed of all his meaning, with a special charge to knowe the comoditie of that porte and Countrey, who went, and in shorte time returned wel satisfied of their demaund: whereupon *Cortes* sente thither *Iohn Velasques de Leon*, for Captayne of a hundred and fifty Spanyards,

Spanyardes, with commission to build a fort.

### The imprisonment of Cacama, King of Texcuco.



He weake courage and stomake of *Mutezuma*, caused his subiectes not onely to murmure, but also to seeke meanes of rebellion, especially his nephew *Cacama-zin*, Lozde of *Texcuco*, who was a stoute yong man and an honorable, and one he receiued greate griefe of his Uncles imprisonment: and seeing that y matter seemed long, he besought his Uncle to procure his libertie, and to shew himselfe a Lozde, and not a slaue: but seeing at length that he could not accepte and follow his counsell, he began to stirre in the matter, threating the death and destruction of the Spanyardes. Some said, that *Cacama* did begin that matter, to reuenge the iniurie and dishonour done vnto his Uncle. Others saide, that his meaning was to make himselfe King of *Mexico*. Others held opinion, that his pretence was only to make an ende of y Spanyards. But let it be for whatsoever purpose. Once he gathered a great army, which he coulde not want, although *Mutezuma* was prisoner, especially against y Spanyards. He published that he would redeme his Uncle out of Captiuitie, and expulse the straungers, or else kill and eate them.

This was a terrible newes for the Christians, but yet for all those bragges *Cortes* dismayde not, rather he determined forthwith to prepare himselfe for the warres, and to besiege him in his owne house and Towne, saying that *Mutezuma* disturbed him, saying that *Texcuco* was a place very strong, and situated in water, and that *Cacama* was a man of bolde and stoute courage,



and had at commaundement the Indians of *Culhua*, and was also Lord of *Culhuacan* and *Oumpu*, whiche were fortes of great strength, thinking to bring the matter to a better passe another way: so that *Cortez* ruled himself by the counsell of *Mutezuma*, and sent vnto *Cacama*, praying him to haue in remembrance the friendshippe that hadde bin betwixt them two, from the time that he came and broughte hym into *Mexico*, and that alwayes peace was better than warre, and especially for a noble man of vassals, for the begynnyng of warres was pleasant to hym that knewe not what warres meante: and in so doynge, he shoulde do both pleasure and seruice to the King of *Spayne*.

*Cacama*  
was vyle.

*Cacama* answered, that he had no friendship with him that woulde take away his honoꝝ and kingdome, and that the warres whych he pretended, was profitable for his vassals, and in defence of their Countrey and Religion, yea and before he determined peace, he meante to reuenge his Uncles wrongs and his goddes.

Also (quoth he) what haue I to doe wpyth the King of *Spayne*, who is a man that I knowe not, no noꝝ yet woulde gladly heare of hym.

*Cortez* turned agayne to admonishe and require hym diuers tymes to leaue off his determination, and wpyled *Mutezuma* to commaunde hym to accepte his offer.

Whereupon *Mutezuma* sente vnto hym, desirynge him to come vnto *Mexico*, to take some order in those controuerxies and discordes betwixte hym and the *Spanyarde*s.

*Cacama* answered very sharply vnto his Uncles request, saying, if you had bloud in your eye, or the hearte of a Prince, you woulde not permit your selfe to bee prisoner, and captiue of foure poore straungers, who

with their fayze speache and flatterynge talke haue bewitched you, and vsurped your kingdome, no noꝝ yet, suffer the Goddes of *Culhua* to be throwen downe and spoiled, yea and the *Mexican* religion and holy places, violated and troden with theues fete and deceyuers: likewise the honour, gloꝝ, and fame of your predecessoꝝ blotted and abased, through your faynt stomacke and cowardice. But notwithstanding, accordyng to your request, and to repayze our religiõ, to restore the Goddes to their Temples, to preserve the kingdome, and to procure libertie for you and the Cittie, I will obey your commaundement: But howe not with my handes in my bosome, but lyke a warriar, to kill those *Spaniardes* who haue so affronted the nation of *Culhua*. Our men stode in great perill, as well of the losynge of *Mexico* as of their owne liues, if this warre and mutinie had not some benequalified: for why? *Cacama* was valiant, skoute, and a good souldier, yea and well furnished of men of warre: also the Cittizens of *Mexico*, were desirous of the same, for to redẽme *Mutezuma* their prince, and to kill the *Spaniardes*, or else to expulse them out of the Cittie.

But poore *Mutezuma* remedied the matter, knowynge or foreseing, that warres woulde not preuaile, yea and beleued, that at the ende all shoulde fall vpon his backe. He dealt with certayne Captaynes & Gentlemen that dwelt in *Texcoco* with *Cacama*, to apprehend him, and bring him prisoner, considering that he was their king and yet aliue. But whether it were, that those Captaynes had serued *Mutezuma* in the warres, or whether it were for giftes & rewardes, they apprehended *Cacama* being in counsell among them, treating of his warres pretended, and embarked him in a boate armed for the purpose, and so brought him to *Mexico* without any further slander or stryfe, and when he was comen to *Mexico*, they put him

Cacama  
prisoner.

on a riche seate, as the Kings of *Tezcuc* were wonte to sitte vpon, beyng the greatest Prince in all that lande next vnto *Mutezuma*: and in this soyte brought him befoze his vncle, who would not looke vpon him, but commaunded him to be deliuered vnto *Cortes*, who incontinent clapped a payze of giues on his legges, and a payze of manacles on his handes, and put hym into sure Guarde and custodie.

After that *Cacama* was in this order prysoner, with the consent of *Mutezuma* was elected Lord and Prince of *Tezcuc* and *Culhuacan*, *Eucuzca*, *Cacama* his yonger brother, who was abiding in *Mexico* with his vncle, and fled from his brother: *Mutezuma* did entitle him with the ceremonies accustomed vnto Princes newly elected and chosen. So that forthwith he was obeyed in *Tezcuc* by *Mutezuma* his commaundement, for he was there better beloued than *Cacama*, who was somewhat of a crooked nature. In this soyte was remedied all the former perill, but if there had bene many *Cacamas*, it would haue fallen out otherwise.

Here *Cortes* made kings, and commaunded with as great auctoritie as though he had obtayned already the whole Empire of *Mexico*: and certainly sithens his first entry into that countrey, he had an assured hope to win *Mexico*, and to be Lord ouer the whole state of *Mutezuma*.

### The Oration that Mutezuma made

unto his Noble men, yeelding himselfe to the  
King of Castile.



After the imprisonment of *Cacama*, *Mutezuma* proclaimed a Parliament, vnto the which came all the Seniors *Comartans*, and beyng all together, he made the Oration followyng vnto them.

pp

My kinsmen, friends and seruants, ye do well know that eightene yeares I haue bene your kynge, as my fathers and Grandfathers were, and alwaies I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and ye vnto me good and obedient subiectes, and so I hope you will remayne all the dayes of my life. Ye ought to haue in remembrance, that eyther ye haue heard of your fathers, or else our aduines haue instructed you, that we are not naturall of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, bycause our forefathers came from a farre countrey, and they king and captayne who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall countrey, saying that he would sende suche as shoulde rule and gouerne vs, if by chaunce hee himselfe returned not. Belæue ye assuredly, that the king whiche we haue looked for so many yeares, is he that hath nowe sente these Spaniards, whiche ye here see. Who dothe certifie, that we are their kinsmen, and that they haue had notice of vs a long tyme: lette vs therefore gyue thanks vnto the Goddes, that nowe they are comen in our dayes, beyng a thing that we so muche desired.

Ye shall nowe doe me seruice and pleasure, that ye yeelde your selues vnto this Captayne for vassals of the Emperoure King of Spayne our soueraygne, I my self haue already yeilded me for his seruitour and friend, praying you that from hence forwarde ye obey him as ye haue obeyed mee. And that ye yeelde and pay vnto him the tributes, customes and seruice that ye were wont to pay vnto me, and in so doyng, ye can doe me no greater pleasure. Hys harte then would not suffer hym to speake any moze, with the sobbes, sighes, and teares, that fell from hys eyes. All his subiectes there presente fell into a crie, weeping and mourning, that for a good space they had no power to speake: they gaue shykes, and

A sonde  
belicis.Poore Mut.  
tezuma.

sighings, uttering with their mouthes many dolefull, and sorrowfull speeches, yea that it pitied our owne men at the hartes. But in conclusion, they answered that they would obey his commaundement. Then *Mutezuma* and the Burgesles of Parliament in order yelded themselves for vassals of the king of *Castile*, promising loyalty. This acte was set downe by the Notarie, and with witnesses authorized. Then the *Indians* departed home to their houses with sorrowfull hartes, God knoweth, as you may imagine. It was a straunge thing to see *Mutezuma* wepe with so many Noble men and Gentlemen, yea and with what griefe they became subiects to an unknowen Prince, but they coulde not otherwise doe, seying that *Mutezuma* did commaunde the same.

A true prophetic.

Also they had a certaine Prognostication and forwarning by their Priests of the coming from the east parties a straunge people, white of colour and bearded men, who should winne and rule that countrey. Likewise there was a secreete talke among them, that in *Mutezuma* should ende and finishe, not alone the lynage of *Culhua*, but also the Emperre and kingdome: therefore some were of opinion, not to name him *Mutezuma* whiche signifieth, agrieved with misfortune. They say also that *Mutezuma* himselfe had many times answers of the Oracle of the Gods, that in him should finishe the *Mexican* Emperours, and that no childe of his should succede in his kyngdome, and that he should lose his seate in the eyght yeare of his raigne: & for these causes he would neuer procure warre to withstande the Spaniards, beleuyng that they should be his successors. Yet on the other side he thought his opinion would take no place, for that he had raygned seuentene yeares: But this should seme to come from the providence of God, whiche giueth kingdomes and taketh them away.

Cortes

*Cortes* gaue vnto *Mutezuma* moste hartie thanks on the behalfe of the Emperour, and for himselfe, and comforted him, who was very sad, promising also that alwayes he should be kyng and Lord, & commaunde as heretofore he had done, and better, yea and also he should be chief ruler of all the other landes and countreys, that he should gette and byng to the seruice of the Emperour.

### The Golde and Iewels that *Mutezuma* gaue vnto *Cortes* for tribute.



After certaine dayes that *Mutezuma* and his counsell had yelden their obedience, *Cortes* sayde vnto him, how that the Emperour was at great costes & charges in his warres, wherfore it should be necessary that his newe vassals should begin to serue in some thing, and to pay their tribute, willing him to sende throughout his dominion to see what coulde be gathered of Gold, and that he himselfe should beginne firste to pay tribute to the example of others. *Mutezuma* answered that he was contented so to doe, willing that some of his men should goe vnto the house of soules for the same. There went many, and there saue golde in planches like brickebattes, Jewels, and peeces wrought in a ball, and two chambers which were opened vnto the. The Spaniards wondering at the sight, would not touch any thing, without giving firste aduertisement to *Cortes*, who incontinent went thither, and caused it all to be carried to his lodging: besides this treasure *Mutezuma* gaue vnto him rich clothes of cotten and feathers maruelously woven in figures & colours, it seemed without comparison; for the Spaniards had neuer scene the like: he gaue vnto him more, twelve shooting tronkes, wherewith he himselfe

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was wont to passe time: some of them were paynted with birdes, beasts, flowers & trees very perfit, a worke sorely much to be commended: and some of them were engraue very curiously, with their mouldes and pellets of golde.

He sente also his seruants by two and two, and five and five, ech company with one Spaniarde, to the Lordes of other prouinces, sourescore, and a hundred leagues fro Mexico, to gather in golde for the accustomed tributes, and newe seruite to the Emperour. Euery Lordc and Seignior payde the quantitie appointed & taxed by *Muteczuma*, in golde, plate, iewels, stones and pearles.

The messengers returned, although they had taried somewhat long on their iourney, of whom Cortes receyued all that they brought, and caused it to be molten, out of the whiche was had in fine golde. 1600000. Castlins, of the value of seven shillings and six pence the peece, and rather more, and also five hundred markes of plate, after six Ducates the marke.

This treasure was deuised among the souldiers, but not all: euery man was payde accordyng to his office. The horsemen had twice as much as the footemen. Also Cortes was payde out of the stocke the money promised him in the conquest.

There came to the kings parte. 32000. Castlins and a hundred markes of plate, the whiche was wrought there in platters, saucers, cuppes, ewers and other peeces, accordyng to the Indian fashion, to be sent to the Emperour. Besides this, the present that Cortes layde aside, and take out of the stocke to send to the Emperour, was worth. 100000. Ducates, in pearles, precious stones, golde, and feathers, feathers and silver, and many other iewels, as the gallant trinkets, whiche beside their value were straunge to behold, wrought with the brauery of the Indians. This present appoynted, was not sent, for that and all the rest was after

afterwarde losse at the troubles in Mexico, as hereafter shall more playnly appeare.

### How Muteczuma required Cortes

to departe from Mexico.



Cortes seying himselfe riche and mightie, he occupied himselfe in three things, the one was to sende vnto Santo Domingo and other Ilands, newes of his proceedings and prosperitie, and also money to provide men, horses and armour, for his owne company were to fewe for so greates a countrey. The other was, to take fully and wholly the state of *Muteczuma*, hauing him prisoner, and also at his commaundement *Tlaxcallan*, *Cacalcamath*, and *Tuchintlec*, knowyng also that the Indians of *Panuco*, *Tecoantepec*, and *Atlixcan*, were moztall enemies to the Mexicans, who woulde ayde and assist him hauing neede of their helpe, his thirde purpose was, to procure all the Indians to be Christened, the which purpose he toke first in hand, as a thing most needefull. On the other side, *Muteczuma* repented himselfe, hauyng newes that *Pamfilo de Naruair* was arrested, who came as enemy to Cortes, yea and after all this he was at length driuen out of Mexico. These notable things shalbe rehearsed in their order. But now *Muteczuma* came, and desired Cortes to departe out of his countrey, aduising hym that otherwise bothe he and his menne were in perill of killing, saying also, that three especiall causes moued him to this request: the one was, the dayly hate of his subjectes, who enuoyned him to come out of captivity, and to murder the Spaniards, saying, that it was a great shame for them to suffer their Prince to be in prison in the power of so fewe strangers, whom they might vse as a foete ball: hauing dishonored the

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and robbed them of their goodes, gathering and heaping vp their gold for themselves, & for their king, who as seemed by their doings, was but a worse fellowe, and if hee would not accept their offer and sute, that then of theyr owne auctoritie they would take the thyng in hande, for so much as he refusing to be theyr king they would also refuse to be his vassals, giuing warning and aduice that he should looke for no better rewarde at the Spaniards handes, than *Quelpopoca* and *Cacama* his newe had received, although they should flatter him neuer so muche.

An other cause was that the Diuell had appeared vnto him, and willed him to kill those Christians, or drive them out of the lande, threatening him that if he did not so, that then he would goe from him and neuer talke any more with him, for (quoth he) with their gospels, baptisme and deuotion, they doe muche displease me. *Muteczuma* answered him, that there was no reason to kill the being his friends and honest men, but he would entreate them to departe, (vnto this) the Diuell answered that hee should do so, and therein he would receiue great pleasure, for ept he would goe his way and leaue him, or else that Christian fellowes should departe, for they saw here (quoth he) a Christian sayth & which is much against our Religion, and can not dwell both together. Another cause was, that *Muteczuma* was not well pleased with the imprisonment of *Cacama*, who once he loued exceeding well: so in fine, secretly hee repented him of all that was past in the Spaniards fauour, and chiefly by the persuation of the Diuell, who sayde that he could not doe vnto him a more acceptable seruice, and of greater pleasure to the Goddes, than to expell the Spaniards and abolishe the name of Christians, and in so doing, the seate of Kings should not finish in the lineage of *Culhua*, but rather be enlarged, & his child should raigne after him, wishing him

not

not to beleene in prophesies, since the eight yeare was past, and was now in the eyghtenth yeare of his raigne. For these causes, or possible for other whiche we knowe not off, *Muteczuma* prepared an army of a hundred thousand men so secretly, that *Cortes* knew not thereof, to the effecte, that if the Spaniards would not departe, being once more required, that then he meant not to leaue one of them alieue. With this determination, he came forth the one day into the yard or court, and had long conference and consultation with his Gentlemen aboute this matter. This done, he sente for *Cortes*, who liked not this newes, saying to him selfe, I pray God this message be to good purpose, and taking twelue of his men which were readiest at hand, went to know wherefore hee had sente for him. *Muteczuma* arose from the place where hee sate, and toke *Cortes* by the hande, commaunding a stole to be brought for him, and so sate them downe both together, and beganne his talke as followeth. Sir, I beseeche you to departe from this Citie and Countrey, for my Gods are sore offended with me, because I doe, and haue permitted you here so long; demaunde of me what you please, and it shall be giuen you, because I loue you well: and thinke you not, that I giue you this warning in iest, but rather in good earnest, therefore it is conuenient, that you depart. It seemed strange vnto *Cortes* this talke. Also he saw by the countenance of *Muteczuma*, that some thing was a working, and before the interpreter of *Muteczuma* had made an end of his talke, *Cortes* willed one of his men to goe forthwith, and to aduise all his fellowes, saying, & the waight of their liues was in quest. When our men called to remembrance what was tolde them in *Tlaxcalan*, considering that it was needefull of courage and help from God to bring them out of that daunger. The *Muteczuma* had ended his tale, I haue (quoth *Cortes*) understood

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your meaning, and doe thanke you for the same: also I would know when it is your pleasure that we should depart, and it shall be done. Euen when it please you (quoth *Mutezuma*) take the time that you thinke meete, and against that time will I prepare a hundred waighte of gold for you, and fiftie pound waight to each of your men.

*Cortes* sayde, you knowe, that when I came into this Countrey, I commaunded all my Shippes to be sonke, so that nowe I haue neede of some conueniente to builde vessels to carrie vs into that Countrey: wherefore my request is, that you commaunde some of your Carpenteres to be called, to cutte downe timber for the purpose, for I haue men that can make the vessels. And this done, we will departe, so that you give vs the golde whiche you haue promised, and certifie you the same to your God and churche.

*Mutezuma* receyued great pleasure at this answer, and sayd, your request shall be fulfilled: and incontinente he sent for many Carpenteres. Likewise *Cortes* prepared certayne of his Marriners for Shyppwrightes. All the which workemen went vnto great wooddes of Pinetrees, and there cutt downe the timber necessarye for the purpose. *Mutezuma* being a simple man, gave credite to all *Cortes* his talke: *Cortes* likewise aduertised his men of his proceedings, and sayd vnto them, *Mutezuma* would haue vs departe out of his Countrey, because he is afraid, and the Diuill hath entiled him thereto: wherefore it is needefull that we build shipping, and therefore I praye you goe with these Indians, and procure to cutt downe the best timber fit for our purpose, and in the meantime for God will provide for vs, whose handes we haue now in hand, of remedie and succour in such sort that we lose not this fruitfull countrey. It is also necessary, that when you come vnto the wodde, that you make all the delay possible,

possible, giuing a shew that you are busie occupied, and with great desire to make amende, that these Indians may suspect nothing of our pretence. Departe in Gods name, and aduise me alwayes what doth passe in your affaires.

The feare that our men stood in to  
be satisfied.



Eight dayes after their departure toward the wodde, arrived fiftene saile of ships at the coast of *Chalchicoeca*. The Indians of that coast aduised *Mutezuma* therof, who was not a little afrayde with the newes, & called *Cortes* vnto him, who feared as much some before there, and when they shewed *Cortes* & *Mutezuma* was come forth into the yarde, he suspected that if *Mutezuma* pleased, they shoulde be all destroyed. Wherefore he said vnto his men, maisters and friends, *Mutezuma* hath sent me, considering what passed this other day, I hold it for no good token. I nowe goe to knowe his wyll: wherefore, whatsoeuer happen, be you alwayes vigilant and ready, commending your selues to God. Remember also whome ye are, and who are these Infidels, abhorred of God, and friends vnto the Diuel, without weapon, and experience in warre: if we chance to fight, the handes of each of vs shall shew by deede with sword, the balloz and courage of our heartes: yea, and although we all die, yet shall we remaine with victorie, for that we haue fulfilled the thing we toke in hand, and the seruice which we owe vnto God as faithfull Christians, with our ductie as true subiects to our prince. They all answered, saying, we will do all our possibilitie while life lasteth, withoute feare of perill or daunger, for we lesse esteeme deathe than honoz. With this answer *Cortes* wente to *Mutezuma*, who sayde vnto him, Senior Captayne, you shall vnderstande that



that now you haue Shippes wherein you may departe, therefore now at your pleasure make you ready.

Cortez answered, not knowing of that shipping, saying, Rightie Sir, when my Shippes are finished I will depart, nay (quoth *Mutezuma*) I meane not those Shippes, for there are arriued eleuen other Shippes at the coast nere vnto *Zempuallan*, and shortly I shall be certified, whether the people that are come in them, are come a shoze, and then shall we know what people, and how many they are in number. Blessed is Iesu Chyriste (quoth Cortez) vnto whome I giue most hartie thanks for his great mercies shewed vnto me, and to the Gentlemen of my company. One of Cortes his men went to shewe the glad tidings to their fellowes, who then receyued double strength, prayeing God, and embraced one another with great pleasure and ioy. And Cortes with *Mutezuma* being in communication together, came another poast, who broughte newes of fourescore Hoysmen that were landed, with eyght hundred footemen, and twelue peeces of Ordnance, and shewed painted in a cloth the whole relation both of men, hoyses, shippes, and ordnance.

At the time  
of neede  
provideth  
God.

*Mutezuma* hearing the newes that this poast hadde broughte, arose from his seate, and tooke Cortes in his armes, saying, now do I more loue you, than I haue done heretofore, and will this day dyne with you. Cortes gaue him thanks for the one and the other, and in this sorte wente hande in hand to Cortes his Chamber, who willed his Spanyards not to make any extraordinary ioy, or alteration, but that they shoulde keepe all together with vigilant watche, and to giue hartie thanks vnto God for the comfortable newes. *Mutezuma* and Cortes dynd together with greate content and pleasure, the one thinking to abide and to enioy the kings state and Countrey, the other thinking that then they woulde annoy the land.

But

But notwithstanding all these ymaginations, a certaine Indian Captaine importuned *Mutezuma* secretly to kill all Cortes his menne, being but few in number, and then shoulde he be the readier to dispatch the others that were newly come, and not to permitte them to ioyne one with another: yea and againe, when the newe come menne shoulde knowe of the deathe of their countrey men, they would not presume to abide in the lande.

With this counsell *Mutezuma* called many his friends and chiefe estates to counsell, propounding the case and iudgement of the Captaine, whych being among them thoroughly hearde, there were many of sundry opinions, but the conclusion was, to permitte the other Spanyards to come, saying, the more enimies, the more gaine, and if we kill but those whiche are here, then the others will returne to their shippes, and so shall we not make the solemne sacrifice of them to the Gods, according to our desire. *Mutezuma* was occupied in this counsell with five hundred noblemen and Gentlemen dayly, and accordyng to determination, they commaunded to cherish and serue Cortes and his company more than ordinary, saying their ioy was at an ende.

A drunken  
reckoning.

### How Iames Velasques sent Pam- filo de Narraiz against Cortes.



Iames Velasques being soze agrieved, with desire of reuenge against Cortes, not only for his expences at the time of preparation of Cortes his fleet, whiche was but small, but of mere hatred of the present honoz & prosperitie of Cortes. Whereupon he inuented greate causes and quarrels against him, saying and alleaging, that Cortes hadde not giuen

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account of his proceedings unto him, beeing Governour of *Cuba*, and *Cortez* his Deputie, but rather without his consent and knowledge, had sente to *Spayne* to the King, abuse of his discovery, as who would say, that was treason, or an euill facte: but chiefly his fury was, knowing how *Cortez* had sent an honorable present, with the Kings parte or portion of treasure unto *Spayne*, yea and whole relation of the discovery, with *Francisco de Monteio*, and *Alonso Fernandez Portocarrero*, the whiche proceedings *James Velasques* meant to disturbe, so that he hadde layde in ambushe a coupell of caruels, to haue taken *Cortez* bys presente, and messengers, the whiche his pretence and purpose toke no place, so that with the prosperous newes of *Cortez*, his furie and madnesse the more encreased, ymagining still his destruction.

And being occupied in these sonde ymaginations, it happened that his Chaplin, one *Benito Martine*, brought letters from the Emperoure unto him, with title and letters pattentes, of Generall and chiefe Governour of all that then was discovered, inhabited, and conquered in the land and coast of *Yucatan*. With this newes, *Velasques* began to triumph, not only so much for the honoz, as also to driue *Cortez* from *Mexico*. Whereupon, he incontinent prepared this fléte or flauie of eleuen Shyppes, and seauen Uergantines, with nine hundred men, and fourescore Hozses, and appoynted one *Pamfilo de Naruaez* for Captayne Generall, and his Deputie in the regiment of the Countrey: and for his more quicker dispatch, he himselfe wente with him thzoughout that Ilande, till they came to *Guaniguanico*, whiche is the Westermost harboz of the Ilande, and being there *Naruaez* ready to departe for *Mexico*, and *Velasques* to returne to *Cuba*, came the li-  
senciat *Lucas Vasques de Aillon*, a chiefe Judge of *Santo Domingo*, in name of the whole Chancery, to require *Velasques*

*lasques* vpon great penalties, that he should not permitte or suffer *Pamfilo de Naruaez* to proceede on th. t voyage agaynst *Cortez*, whiche would be cause of further, ciuill warres, and other mischiefs among the Spanyards, yea and that *Mexico* should be in daunger of losing, with all the rest that was conquered, and in quiet to the Kings vse, saying unto him moreover, that if there were anye discorde betwéne them for goodes, or poyntes of honoz, that then it did apperteyne to the Emperoure to iudge, and determine the cause, and not that he himselfe should be iudge in his owne cause, vsing force against the other partie, praying them for the seruice of God and the King, that if they would gos to conquere, that then they shoulde seeke other Countreys, hauing so good an armye and fléte, and Countreys ynough to seeke. This diligéce, request and authoritie of the Licenciate *Aillon*, to *Velasques* and *Naruaez* preuailed not: he seeing their obstinacie and little regarde to him being a chiefe Judge, determined to goe with *Naruaez* in his Shippe, to lette and disturbe the great hurte that might follow, thinking there in the newe *Spayne* to perswade *Naruaez*, better than in the presence of *Velasques*, yea and also if neede should be, to be a meane of quietnesse betwixt them.

A noble  
Judge.

*Pamfilo de Naruaez* toke shipping in *Guaniguanico*, and sailed till he came nere unto *Vera Cruz* with al his fléte, and hauing intelligence that there were a hundred and fiftie Spanyards of *Cortez* his band, he sente unto them a Priest, with one *Iohn Ruiz de Guenara*, and *Alonso de Vergara*, to require them to receyue him for their Captayne and gouernoure. But the newe Citizens would giue no eare to their talke, but rather apprehended them, & sente them prisoners to *Mexico* to *Cortez*, to aduertise hym of their embassage, wherevpon *Naruaez* vnshipped his men, hozses, armor, & artillery, & wēt to the directly to *Zempoalla*.

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The Indian Comarcans being as well friends to Cortez, as vassals to Mutezuma, gaue vnto him golde, mantels, and vittayles, thinking that they had bin Cortez his men.

### The substance of a letter that Correz

wrote vnto Naruaez.

**B**Efoze Cortes knew the effect of the coming of this new flete, his head was soze troubled, soz, on the one side he was glad of the comming of his owne nation, on the other side he liked not so great an armie. Likewise he ymagined, that if they came to succour him, he helde the Countrey soz conquered: also if that they were come againste him, he iudged the Countrey to bee lost. He iudged also, that if they were come from *spayne*, that then they hadde bzought to him the thing looked for, but if they were come from *Cuba*, he feared ciuil warres. He also thought, that from *spayne* could not come so many folke in so shorte space. Finally, he deemed, that his olde enemye *James Velasques* was come personally, but when he knew the whole truth, then was he muche moze perswaded, thinking that the threed of his prosperitie was cut asunder, yea and that they would be meane to stoppe the gappes of the whole discovery, both of the secretes of the land, mines and treasure, as also, in the knowledge of the friends or enemies of *Mutezuma*. It shoulde be also a let to inhabite the places which he had begunne, yea and also to Chyssen the *Indians*, whiche was the principall thing that he pretended, yea & a let or stop of many other things begun in y service of God & the prince, fearing also by flying from one inconuenience, to fall into many, and also if he should permit *Pamphilo de Naruaez* to come vnto *Mexico*, it shoulde be a meane of hys perdition:

if

if likewise he should encounter him, he feared some rebellion in the Citie, and the setting at libertie of *Mutezuma*, putting in perill his owne honour, life, and trouble: and to auoyde all these daungers and inconueniences, he determined remedie. First, he dispatched two men, the one vnto *John Velasques de Leon*, who was gone to inhabite at *Coazacoalco*, willing him at the sight of his letter to repaire vnto *Mexico*, giuing him aduise of the comming of *Naruaez* and of the great neede that he stood in, of him & his company. The other messenger he sent to *Vera Cruz*, to bzynge full relation of the arriual of *Naruaez*, and what was his pretence.

The letter sent to *John Velasques*, came no sower to his hande, but sozthwith he obeyed and fulfilled the same, contrary to the expectation of *Naruaez*. soz he was his bzother in law, and kinsman vnto *James Velasques*. Cortes seeing his constancie, had him euer after that tyme in great estimation.

From the *Vera Cruz* came twentie of the townes men with certificat what *Naruaez* had published, and bzought with them a priest, with *Alonso Guevara* and *John Ruiz de Vergara*, who had comen to *Vera Cruz* to amotue the towne, vnder colour that they had bzought the commissiō from the king. Cortes on the other side, sent vnto *Naruaez* seignior *Bartholome de Olmedo*, with other two Spaniards, to offer vnto him his friendship, & otherwise to require & commaunde him on the behalfe of the kyng & of his owne, as chiefe iustice of the land, and in the name of the rulers and Aldermen of the towne of *Vera Cruz*, who were then in *Mexico*, that he shoulde enter peaceably, without making any alteration untill his auctoritie and commission were seene and allowed, and to make no stander or byroze to the hinderance of the king his maisters proceedings.

But al this diligence and letters of Cortes and the other

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rulers prevailed not, he seeing this, set at libertie the priest that was brought prisoner, and sente him vnto *Naruaez*, with certaine riche collers of gold, and other iewels with a letter, wherein he wrote, that he was more gladder of his comming in that fleet than any other, for the friendship and olde acquaintaunce that had bene betwixt them, desiring him that they mought talke and conferre together, alone, for to take order to prohibite wars, sedition, bloodshedde and disquietnesse among them, being of one nation and brethren, requestyng him to shew his commission from the king vnto him, or vnto the counsell of *Vera Cruz*, and he would willingly obey it as reason did require: and if he had not brought any such commission, yet he would make some honest agreement with him. *Pamfilo de Naruaez* seeing himselfe strong and mightie, did little regarde *Cortes* his letters, offers, nor requestes, and chiefly because *James Velasques* was soze displeased with *Cortes*.

### The talke of Naruaez to the Indians,

and his answer to *Cortes*.



*Pamfilo de Naruaez* declared to the Indians that they were deceyued with their opinion in *Cortes*, for that he alone was Captayne generall and chiefe Lorde, and that *Cortes* was but a naughty man, and so were all they of his company which are now in *Mexico*, who were all but his boyes, and that his present commyng was to cut of *Cortes* his head, and to chasten the others, like to yf he meant to dzyue them all out of the countrey, & then to depart himselfe, and to leaue them in full libertie.

The Indians gaue credite to his talke saying so many bearded men and horses, and thereupon began to attende and serue him, leauyng their olde friends in *Vera Cruz*.

Also

Also *Naruaez* began to flatter *Mutezuma*, and sente him worde that *Cortes* abode in that countrey against the will of his Prince, & that he was a couetous rebell, who robbed his countrey, and that he pretended to kill *Mutezuma*, and to make himselfe king. Also that his comming was to set him at libertie, and to restore vnto him all that those wicked fellowes had taken from him. And bicause that others should take example of their fates, he would commaunde them all to be slaine, willing him to take no care, for in short space they would see ech other. And that when he had set him at libertie with restitution of his goodes, he would incontinent departe his countrey. These treaties were so foule & abhominable, with the iniurious wordes which *Pamfilo de Naruaez* spake openly against *Cortes* and his men, yea they seemed odious vnto all his owne hoste & army, and some of his own men checked him for the same, especially *Barnardino de Santa Clara*, who saying the countrey so peaceable and so well pleased with *Cortes*, he could not let but reprehende *Naruaez* in his wordes. Also the licenciat *Aillon* required him diuers times to cease fro his slanderous talke, vpon paine of death & losse of his goodes, & also not to procede towarde *Mexico*, for the great hurte that might ensue, with slander among the Indians, disquietnesse among the Spaniards, and offence to the Emperour his Maestie. *Pamfilo de Naruaez* being moued with his talke layde hand vpon *Aillon*, being a chiefe iudge for the king, and apprehended also his Secretary & an other officer, and forthwith shipped them, and sente the to *James Velasques* gouernour of *Cuba*. But when *Aillon* saw himselfe at sea, and free from *Naruaez*, he began to threaten the Mariners, commanding the not to presume to carrie him to *Cuba* to *Velasques* his power, but onely to *Santo Domingo*, where he was one of the kings counsell in chancery: the Mariners fearing the kings iustice, obeyed his commandement

And

A cruell  
proclama-  
tion.

A madde  
reckenyng.

A good ca-  
payne and  
a vyll.

and when he was apoynted at *santo Domingo*, he wholly en-  
formed the Counsell there, of *Naruaez* and his wicked  
dealyng, whose testimonie and information did much ble-  
mish the credite of *Velasques*, & exalt the trauels of *Cortes*.  
After that *Naruaez* had shipped away *Aillon*, he proclay-  
med warre with fire and sword agaynst *Cortes*, and pro-  
mised certayne markes of Golde to him that shoulde ap-  
prehende or kill him, or *Pedro de Aluaredo*, and *Gonsalo de*  
*Sandonal*, with other principall persons of his company.  
Also he made diuision of his goodes among his men befoze  
they came to possesse it. Surely these thre poyntes were  
of a man without wisdom or discretion.

Many of *Naruaez* his company did amotue them-  
selues, thzough the commaundement of the Licenciat  
*Aillon*, and thzough the same and liberalitie of *Cortes*.  
Whereupon incontinent one *Pedro de Villalobos* a *Portu-  
gal*, and sixe or seuen more fledde vnto *Cortes*, yea and o-  
thers wrote vnto him, offering themselves to his seruice,  
if by chaunce they should encounter.

*Cortes* receyued the letters, but kept in silence from his  
company the firmes of those whiche had written to hym.  
Some doe thinke that *Cortes* had suborned them with let-  
ters, saye promises, yea and a boze load of chaynes and  
planches of golde, which he sente secretly to *Naruaez* his  
campe with a seruaunt of his, publishing likewise, that he  
had an army of two hundred Spaniards in *Zempoallan*,  
where he had none at all: these policies mought well be,  
for he was prudent, carefull and quicke in his businesse,  
and *Pamfilo de Naruaez* was slothfull and carelesse.

*Naruaez* made answer to *Cortes* his letter by seignior  
*Bartholome de Olmedo*, the substance of his message was,  
that forthwith he shoulde repayre to the place where he  
was abiding, and there he should see the Emperours com-  
mission & order, wherein was autoritie given to hym to take

take and keepe that countrey for *James Velasques*, yea and  
that already he had made a towne of men onely, with all  
officers thereunto appertayning.

After this letter and message sent, he dispatched like-  
wise one *Barnaldino de Quesada*, and *Alonso de Mata*, to re-  
quyre *Cortes* to depart and leaue the countrey vpon paine  
of death, and to notifie vnto him these actes by order of  
law. *Cortes* layde hande vpon *Alonso de Mata*, because he  
named himselfe the kings Notary, and shewed no title or  
authoritie for the same.

### The talke that Cortez had vyith his owne souldiers.



*Cortes* perceyuing the small fruite that his  
letters (presentes) and messengers, obtay-  
ned at the handes of *Naruaez*, and that in  
no case, he woulde shewe his commission  
whiche came from the kyng, he determi-  
ned to goe vnto hym, and according to the olde proverbe,  
face to face doth get respect, and likewise if it were possi-  
ble, to agree vpon some good order and quietnesse: where-  
upon he sent *Rodrigo Aluarez* his surueyor, with *John Ve-  
lasques*, and *John del Rio*, to treat with *Naruaez* of many  
matters, whereof thre things were the principallest. The  
first was, that they two might mete alone, or else so ma-  
ny, for so many, and that *Naruaez* should permit *Cortes* to  
abide in *Mexico*, and he withall his company shoulde  
conquere *Panuco* or other kingdomes, also that *Cortes* woulde  
pay the charges, and haue consideration to gratifie his  
souldiers, or else that *Naruaez* should abide in *Mexico*, and  
deliuer vnto *Cortes* 400. of his men, to the intent that with  
them, and his owne men he myght procede to seeke other  
countreys to conquere. Laste of all, he required to see the

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kings commission, for that he would obey the same. *Naruaez* liked none of these offers, only he accepted that they should mete together with each of them ten Gentlemen for security, bound with solemn othe, and firm'd this agreement with their names. But it took no effect, for *Rodrigo Aluarez* advised *Cortes* that *Naruaez* had made a snare to apprehend him, or to kill him at their meeting. *Cortes* understood the matter, or else he had some other intelligence by some that loved him well. And this former agreement taking no place, *Cortes* determined to goe unto him.

But before his departing, he declared unto his company, saying, I trust ye haue in remembrance what & how much I haue done for you, since the beginning of this enterprise, yea & also how lovingly & friendly ye haue dealt for me: Ye shall now understand that *James Velasques*, in Steele of thanks giving vs, hath sent to murder vs, *Pamfilo de Naruaez*, who is a stubborne & an unreasonable man, one ready to execute our good desertes done in the service of God & our Prince, with an euill reward. And the cause is only, for doing our dutie in the sending of the Kings parte & portio to his Royall person & not unto him. Also this *Naruaez* hath already confiscated our goods, and given them to other men, and our bodies condemned to the Gallows, yea and our fame and honour plaide at tables, with great iniurious & slanderous wordes proclaimed agaynst vs, which things truly are not of a Christian, no no: yet we with Gods helpe will let the matter so to slippe: yea and though we ought to leaue the reuengment vnto God, yet we will not suffer them to enjoy our traunyles & paynes, who are now comen white fingered to spoile the blood of their neighbours, yea & like madde men to strue agaynst their owne nation, sowing slander among those Indians which serued vs as our friends, ye & procuring more cruel warres, than the civil warre betwene *Asario* & *Sila*, or of

*Cesar*

*Cesar* & *Pompeio*, who turned vpsidowne the Romaine Empire. Wherefore I do determine to make him by this way, & not to suffer him to come vnto Mexico, for it is better to say, God saue you, than they to come & say who is there: yea & though they are many, a good hart both breaketh euill fortune, as it hath appered by vs, who haue passed thorow the pikes since our coming hither: moreover, I doubt not but that many of *Naruaez* his company will come vnto vs. Wherefore my deere friends doe I giue you aduise of my pretence, to the intent that those which will goe with me, let them prepare themselves, & those that will not, let them remaine to keepe Mexico & *Mutezuma*, which is as much in effect. At the end of his talke he promised great rewards if he with victory he returned. His men answered all with one voyce, that they were all at his commandement, & ready to fulfill his wil, yet some feared the pride & blindness of *Pamfilo de Naruaez*: on the other side the Indians began to be lusty, to see dissention among the Spanyardes, & that the Indians of the coast were ioynd in league with the new come men.

### The requests of Cortez to Mutezuma.



After all his talk & answer of his souldiers, he went to visite & to commune with *Mutezuma* for to departe on his iourney, with somewhat less care, & also to proue the minde & will of *Mutezuma*, vnto whome he uttered his mind as foloweth. Sir you know that I loue you & desire to serue you, & chiefly the trust againe, that you will haue to my companions while I am gone from this citie. Wherefore I pray you: that it may please you to remaine here in this lodging, & to haue regard vnto these strangers, which I leaue with you, also I commend vnto you, the gold & iewels which is in their custodie, and giuen vnto vs of your owne liberalitie. For I doe now goe to signifie vnto those

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which

Oh vnto  
Cortes,

which of late are comen in the new flöete, how your highnesse doth commaunde that I departe from this land, and that they doe not agrauate oꝝ molest your subiectes, noꝝ yet presume to enter into your countrey, but that they remaine on your coast, vntill we be ready to departe with them, according to your will and pleasure. And if in the meane season, any of your subiects be so vnauided, as to molest my men, whiche now remaine in your power and Guard, that then it may please you to be their shield, succour, and onely defence. *Mutezuma* promised to fulfill his request, wishing him moreouer, that if any in his iourney shoulde offende him, then immediatly to aduise him, and that he would sende his men of warre to chassen the, yea and also (if it pleased him,) he would giue vnto hym guydes to safe conduct him thzough his owne dominion to the Sea coast, who shoulde pꝛouide him of all necessities by the way. *Cortes* kissed his handes for his curtesie, with mosse hartie thankes for the same, and gaue vnto him certayne Spanishe apparell, and other glasse Jewels, and also other like treasure to his poble men, which stode by at all the talke. But in effect he tolde him not what he pretended to doe, noꝝ yet the newes of *Pamfilo de Naruaez* his proceedings was not come to his eare, oꝝ else, it may be that *Mutezuma* dissimuled the matter with inwarde pleasure, that one Christian shoulde kill the other, thinking thereby to haue most sure his libertie, and the Goddes pleased.

### The imprisonment of Pamfilo

de Naruaez.



*Cortes* was so wel beloued among hys companie, that they offered willingly to goe with him, by reason whereof he chose. 250. men fitte for his iourney, & lefte other. 200. in garde of

*Mute-*

*Mutezuma* and the Citle, with *Pedro de Aluaredo* for their Captayne. He lefte also with them the artillerie and foure ffoyses readye made, to haue the lake in subiection, beseeching them onely to haue speciall regard that *Mutezuma* fled not from them to *Naruaez*, and not to permitte him to goe out of their fort oꝝ strong house.

With those fewe Spanyards *Cortes* toke his iourney with no more but vyght oꝝ nine horsemen, and certayne Indians for his seruice, and carriage.

Passing thzough *Cholulla* and *Tlaxcallan*, he was honorably receyued and lodged, and aboute fiftene leagues from *Zempoallan* where *Naruaez* was abiding, he mette with two pꝛiestes, and his old especial friend *Andres de Duero*, who had lent him money for the setting forth of that voyage. These thre persons came to require him to obey the Generall lately come as Lieutenant to the Gouernour *Velasques*, and to deliuer vnto him the Countrey, with all the fortes oꝝ Castels therein, aduising him, that if he would not accomplish the same, that then he woulde pꝛocede againste him, euen as an enemye and Rebelle, to the execution of death. Likewise, if he would fulfill the request made vnto him, that then he shoulde haue libertie, and conueniente shipping to depart, both for him, and as many as would goe with him. *Cortes* answered, that he would rather suffer death, than to leaue the Countrey whiche he had conquered and pacified with his handes and industrie, without anye commaundement from the Emperoure: and (quoth he) if againste all equitie and iustice, he will contend with me in warre, I will defend me as well as I may, and if I haue the victorie (as I trust in God and the righte that I haue on my side,) I shall not stand in neede of shipping, and if I be slaine, muche lesse. Therefore I doe require him to shew vnto me his commission and authoritie had from the Emperour, for vntil

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I doe both see and reade the same, I will accepte no agreement: and if (quoth he) that he refuse the same, that then I dare warne, admonish, and require him to returne to *Cuba*, the place from whence he came, and if he wil not obey my precept, I will then apprehende him, and sende him prisoner in prison to the Emperoure: and with thys aunswere dispatched the thre messengers, sending also a notarie of his owne, to commaund him to take his shipping, and to departe without making any altercation in the Countrey, or of ensuing of further murders and strife, and if not, that vppon Whitsonday, whiche was within thre dayes following, he meante to be with him at supper. *Pamfilo de Naruaez* made a mockery and iest at his commaundement, and tooke prisoner the notarie whiche came from *Cortes* with that order, holding *Cortes* for madde, who made so manye bragges with so small a company. And befoze *John Velasques de Leon*, and *John de Rio*, *Cortes* his friendes, he mustered his men, who were in number fourescore *Hargabushers*, a hundred and twentie *Crossebowes*, sixe hundred men, with other weapon, and fourescore horsemen, saying, how will *Cortes* defend himselfe againste vs, nay at length he will know his dutie: he promised money to him that shoulde epyther kyll, or take *Cortes* prisoner. And the same offer made *Cortes* against *Pamfilo*, who made a rounde of his footemen, and skirmished with his horsemen, shooting off his artillerie, to put in feare the poze *Indians*.

*Naruaez* signified againe vnto *Mutezuma* with the messengers who carried all the triumph and mustered pointed, all his former dealings, but hearing that *Cortes* was nere at hande, he sente out his lyght horsemen to dyscrie his Campe.

All *Naruaez* his horses were readye saddled and bridled, and his men armed. *Cortes* entred so close and secret, that

that no man almost hearde him, and the firste worde he spake, hauyng all his men within with him, was, shut the gates, and strike, downe with them. There were at that time many shining weapons, whiche with their glittering seemed matches of *Hargabushes*, so that if one peere at that time had bin discharged, they woulde haue bin in a great feare.

*Naruaez* being about to put on his priuile coate, came one vnto him, saying: Sir, *Cortes* is nere your lodgyng, let him come in (quoth he) for he cometh to talke with me. *Naruaez* had his men in foure Towers of his lodging, and he himselfe was in the one, with a hundred *Spanyardees*, and at his doze thirtene peeres of Ordnance ready charged. *Cortes* commanded his chiefe *Sherriffe Gofalo de Sadoual*, with fortie or fiftie of his fellows, to goe vp into *Naruaez* his Chamber, and he himselfe with other twentie men abode at the doze to defende and keepe that none might enter thereat, vntil he had finished his busynesse. The residue of his men besieged the other Towers, so that they might not succoure one another.

*Naruaez* hearing the noyse, woulde nedes fighte, although he was required to stay his handes, and coming out at his Chamber doze, they strake out one of his eyes with a pike, and then they layde hande vpon hym, dragging and draynyng him downe the staires by the heeles, and when he sawe hymselfe broughte befoze *Cortes*, he sayde, oh Senior *Cortes*, thanke your great fortune, in hauyng my person prisoner, who aunswered hym againe, oh *Naruaez*, the hauyng of thy body prisoner, is the least thing that I haue done, sithence I came into thys lande. *Cortes* commaunded forthwith to lay him in prison, and to carrie him to the riche towne of *Vera Cruz*, where he abode prisoner certayne yeares.

This combat endured but a while, for within one houre

*Pamfilo*

As vncertaine  
sayne rec-  
ording.

A darke  
night for  
*Naruaez*.



*Pamfilo de Narvaez* and the chiefeſt of his company were taken priſoners, and their weapons & armour taken from all the reſt. There were ſlayne of *Narvaez* his men fixtē, and of *Cortes* his ſide were killed only two perſons with a peece of Ordnance. They had no leysure to giue fire to their Ordnance, with the great diligence and haſt of *Cortes*, ſauing vnto ene peece that killed the two men. The tutch holes were ſtopped with ware, through the great raine that had fallen. By this meane thoſe that were overcome, did take occaſion to ymagine that *Cortes* had ſuborned the maiſter gunner, and others.

*Cortes* vsed great ſobrietie and diſcretion, for he would not permitte anye of the priſoners to be reuiled or miſuſed with any iniurious wordes, no noꝝ yet *Narvaez*, who hadde ſpoken ſo much euill of him, although many of his men deſired reuengement. *Pedro de Maluenda* ſeruaunt to *James Velasques*, who was chiefe ſteward to *Narvaez*, fledde to the ſhippes with all the ſtuffe that he coulde gette, without any lette of *Cortes*. Here may you ſee what difference and aduantage is betwixt man and man, what did eache of theſe Captiues ſay, thinke, and doe, ſeldome time dothe happen that ſo fewe of one nation dothe overcome ſo many of the ſame nation, eſpecially the greater number beeing freſh, luſtie, and in a ſtrong holde.

## The Rebellion of Mexico againſt

*Cortes.*



After that *Cortes* had obteyned victorie againſt *Narvaez*, he knew very well the moſt part of his company, vnto whome he ſpake curteouſly, praying them to forget the things paſt, and ſo would hee alſo. And alſo likewiſe, that it mighte please

please them to goe with him to *Mexico*, whiche was the richeſt Citie of all that *India*. He alſo reſtored to euery man his armour and weapons, whiche were taken from them in their ouerthrowe. He alſo left very fewe of them priſoners with *Narvaez*. The horſemen toke the fieldes with ſtomacke to fight, but after they had hearde of his offer, they ſubmitted themſelues. In concluſion, all thoſe that were come, hoping of ſpoyle, were glad to accepte his offer, and to goe with him with faithfull promiſe truly to ſerue him.

He renewed his power in *Vera Cruz*, and brought thither the nauie of *Narvaez*. He alſo diſpatched two hundred Spaniards to the riuer of *Garay*, and ſent alſo *John Velasques de Leon* with other two hundred men. To inhabit of *Coazacoalco*. He diſpatched alſo a Spaniard by poſt to *Mexico*, with newes of the victorie, and hee himſelfe followed towarde *Mexico*, with the great care that he had of thoſe whome he had left there in guard of *Mutezuma* and the Citie.

The Poſt that wente on this iourney, inſteade of thanks, was ſore wounded by the *Indian* Rebelles, but although he was ſo hurte, yet he returned to *Cortes*, with newes that *Mexico* was reuolted, and that they had burned the foure ſtories, alſo aſſieged the Spaniſh houſe, and throwen downe a wall, and myned another, yea and ſet fire vpon the munition, taken away their vittayles, and had broughte them to ſuche extremitie, to be eyther ſlayne, or remaine priſoners, ſaying that *Mutezuma* commaunded to ceaſe the combate, yea and for all that they woulde not leaue their armour, noꝝ departe from the ſiege, only they ſomewhat amayned their furie for the princes ſake.

Theſe newes were ſorrowfull to *Cortes*, for thereby his pleaſure was turned into care, the rather to make

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hast to succoure his friendes and fellowes, for if he hadde delayed his comming but a small whyle, he had sounde them eyther slayne, or else their bodies ready to sacrifice: but his greatest comforte was, that *Mutezuma* remained still prisoner. He mustered his men in *Tlaxcallan*, and sounde of his Spanishe nation a thousand souldiers, and nere a hundred horsemen. He proceeded forthwardes towardes *Tezcuco*, where he sounde none of the Gentlemen of his acquaintance, nor yet he there was receyued, as in time past he had bin, but rather he found a great alteration in the Countrey, and also many towncs without people, or else rebelled. In *Tezcuco* met with him a Spanyarde, whome *Aluarez* had sente to desire him to come vnto them, and to certifie hym of all the premisses, saying moreover, that with his comming their furye woulde be pacified.

With this messenger came another from *Mutezuma*, who declared vnto *Cortes*, that his Lorde was innocent of all that was done, praying hym, that if he had conceived any euill opinion agaynst hym, to putte away the same agayne, and that it mighte please hym to goe directly to his owne house, where he abode his comming with the Spanishe garde, that he hadde lefte with him, who were aliue and in good healtie as he hadde lefte them.

With this message, *Cortes* and his compaignie repored all that nyghte, and the nexte days, beinge Epiphonie daye, he entred into *Mexico* at dynner tyme, with his hundred horsemen, and the thousande souldiers, with a greate compaignie of theyr friendes of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocingo*, and *Cholalla*, but he saw but few folke in the streetes, and small entertaynement, with manie bridges broken, and other euill tokens.

He came to his lodgyng, and all those of his compaignie

mye whyche coulde not well bee lodged there, he sente them to the greate Temple. *Mutezuma* came forth into the parde to receyue hym, full beaute and sorrowfull, as it seemed, of that offence whiche his subiectes had done, excusing hymselfe: and then euery one entred into his lodgyng and Chamber, but the toy and pleasure of *Pedro de Aluarez* was incomparable, saluting the one the other, with demaundes and questions howe they fared, yea and how much the one compaignie declared of prosperitie and pleasure, the other againe replyed as muche of sorrow and trouble.

### The causes of the Rebellion.



*Cortes* procured to knowe the principall cause of the insurrection of the Mexican Indians, and hauing a generall daye of hearing, the charge beinge layde against them, some sayd, that it was through the letters and perswasion of *Narvaez*: Others answered, their desire and meaning was, to expell the straungers, according to agreemente made, for in theyr skirmishes they cryed nothing but gette you hence, get you hence: Other sayde, that they pretended the libertie of *Mutezuma*, for in theyr Conuantes they woulde saye, lette goe our God and sayng, if you list not to bee slayne. Others sayde, that they were Thieves, and hadde robbed theyr golde and plate from them, whyche was in valewe more than seauen hundred thousande duckettes. Others cryed, here shall you leade the golde that you haue taken from vs. Others sayde, that they coulde not abyde the sighte of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and other theyr mortall enimies. Spanie beloued that the mutinye was for throwyng downe theyr Goddes and Idolles.

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Catche

each of these causes were sufficient to rebell, how much more altogether.

But the chiefest and most principall cause was, that after the departure of Cortes towards Naruaez, happened a solemne holiday, whiche the Mexicans were wont to celebrate, and desiring to obserue the same, as they were wont to do, they came and besought Captayne Alvarado to graunt them licence, & not to ymagine that they were toyed together, to kill the Spanyardes. Alvarado gaue them licence, with such conditions, that in their Sacrifice shoulde no mans bloude be spilde, nor yet to weare any weapon.

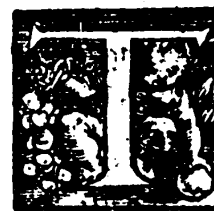
At this feast, fye hundred Gentlemen and principall persons toyed together in the greate temple: some doe saye, that they were more than a thousande persons of greate estate, but that night they made a marvellous great noyse, with cornets, shels, clouen bones, where with they made a straunge musike: they celebrated the feast, their naked bodies covered with sele, made and wrought with precious stones, collers, girdels, bracelettes, and many other iewels of golde, silver, and all of kinde, with gallant tuffes of feathers on their heads. They daunced a daunce called *Mazanalizli*, which is to say, deserte woth payne, and so they call *Mazana* a husbandman. This daunce is like *Neranzli*, which is another daunce. The manner is, that they lay mattes in the Temple yarde, and with the sounde of their Drummes, called *Atabals*, they daunce a round, hande in hande, some singing, and others answere, which songs were in hono<sup>r</sup> and prayse of the Godo<sup>r</sup> Huitzilopuchli, whose feast it is, hoping for thys service to haue rayne, corne, healt<sup>h</sup>, blissh, peace, shyd<sup>h</sup> dyen, or anye other thing that they maye wishe for, or desire.

These Indian Gentlemen being occupied in their dauncing and ceremonies, it fortuned that Pedro de Alvarado went to the Temple of *Huitzilopuchli* to beholde they<sup>r</sup> doings, and whether his goyng was of his owne accorde, or by the consent of his company I am not certaine, although some saye that he was aduised howe the mutinie was there conspired, as after did follow: others holde opinion, that their onely goyng to the Temple was to beholde the maruapulous and straunge daunce. And then seying them so richely attyred, they coueted their Golde and Iewels whiche they were, and besieged the Temple with tenne Spanyardes at each doze, & the Captayne entred in, with fiftie men, and without any Chyistian respect slewe and murdered them al, and toke from them all their treasure. Although this facte seemed odious vnto Cortes, yet he dissimuled the mater, for feare least he shoulde hurte his owne proceedings, as time did then require knowyng not, what neede he might haue of them, but especially to auoyde contention among his company.

A courteous  
and a vile.

## The threatenings of the Mexicans

agaynst the Spanyardes.



The cause of this rebellion, beyng well knowen, Cortes demaunded how they<sup>r</sup> enemies fought, mary (quoth they) after they had taken weapon, agaynst vs for the space of ten dayes arew, they neuer ceased with great fury to assaulte and combat our house, and we with feare least *Mutezuma* shoulde escape and flee vnto Naruaez, durst not goe out of dozes to fight in the streete, but onely to defende the house with especiall care of *Mutezuma*, accorpyng to your charge giuen vnto vs. Also we being but few and the Indians many,

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who

who still refreshed their men, they did not onely wery vs, but also put vs in great feare and cleane out of courage, yea and if at the greatest byunt, *Mutezuma* personally had not ascended to the toppe of our wal, commaunding them if euer they meant to see him a liue, to stay and cease from their enterpryse.

At the sight of *Mutezuma* they were all amazed, and incontinent ceased the combat and assault. They sayde also that with the newes of the victorie had agaynst *Pamfilo de Narvaez*, *Mutezuma* requyred his men to leane off from theyr pretence, not withstanding the *Indians* calling to remembraunce, that *Cortes* was a coming with a greater company, at whose returne they should haue the more to doe, began afreshe to assaulte the house, whereupon some doe thinke, that it was agaynst the will of *Mutezuma*. But it followed, that one day the Spaniards standing in greates perill, charged their greatest peeces of ordinaunce, and gyuing fire, the peece discharged not, the *Indians* seying the same, beganne a freshe with a marueylous terrible noyce, using stauies, Bowes, lances, & stones that came as thicke as Hayle, saying, naue will doe redeme our King, sette our houses at libertie, and reuenge our iniuries. But in the middell of theyr fury the peece wente of, without any more pymping or touche, with a greate and fearefull thundering, the peece beyng great and ful of hayle shotte, with the mayne pellette, made a straunge spoule among them, and with feare they retired. But yet they beganne to say, well, well, shortly shall your fleshe be boyled, although we meane not to eate it, for truly it is very carryne and good for nothing. But yet we will bestowe the same vpon the Eagles, Lions, Tigris and Snakes, who shal be the graues for your filthy carcases.

But if shortly with ye let not *Mutezuma* departe, and re-  
 Noze

Noze him to his libertie, ye shall quickly haue your rewarde, for your presumption & pride, who durst be so bold, as to lay hande on *Mutezuma* being our God and Lord, that giueth vs our dayly fode. And yet ye with your filthy thæues handes presumed to touch him, oh how sothe not the earth open & swallow you which taketh other mens goodes. But marke the end, for our Gods whose religion you did profane, will rewarde you according to your deserte, & if they do not shortly erecute their wrath, then let vs alone, for we will out of hande make an ende of you. And as for those thæues and villaines of *Tlaxcallan* your slaues, shall not depart praying their gaynes, who nowe presume to take their maisters wiues, ye and to demaund tribute of them, vnto whome they themselues are tributors. These & such like were the wordes of the *Mexicans*. But our men, although they were in a maruelous feare, yet they reprehended their folly, as touchyng *Mutezuma*, saying that *Mutezuma* was no God, but a mortall mā as they were, and no better, and that their Gods were bayne idols, and their religion most false and abhominable, and that only our God was holy, iuste, true, and infinite.

### The great extremitie and daunger that our men were put in by the *Mexicans*.



After hearyng the former talke in defense of the house, and prouiding of things necessary, the night passed away. And in the morning to proue the *Mexicans* intent, *Cortes* commaunded the market to be held as in time past. *Aluado* wished *Cortes* to shew himself toward him as agrieved & not well pleased, making as though he would apprehend & correct him for the things passed, thinking that *Mutezuma* and his men would

would haue entreated for him. Cortes passed not for that talke, saying that they were infidels, diuelish and wicked people, with whome suche complementes shoulde not be vsed.

But he commaunded a certaine principal Gentleman of Mexico, who stode there presente, that out of hande he shoulde commaunde the market to be furnished as in time past. This Indian vnderstanding that Cortes had spoken euill of them, made as though he went to fulfill his commandement: but he wente to proclayme libertie, publishing the heynous and inturious wordes whiche he had harde, so that in shorte space the matter beganne to waue boate, for some went and brake downe the bridges, others went to call all the Citizens, who ioyned themselves together, and besieged the Spaniardes house, with suche strange noyse that one coulde not heare another: the Stones felle lyke hayle, Dartes and arrowes filled the Spaniardes parde, which troubled them much. Cortes seeing this brayle, he with certaine of his men went out at one doore, and another Captayne at another, with eache of them two hundred men. They fought with the Indians, who felle some Spaniardes, and wounded many moe, and of them were slayne very fewe with their saccoz and defence at hande. If our men fought with them in the streetes, then would they stoppe their passage at the bridges: if they assaulted their houses, then they were beaten with stones from the toppe of their houses, whiche were flatte ruffed, and at their retire they persecuted them terribly.

They sette fire vpon the Spaniardes house in sundry places, but chiefly in one place they coulde not aplane the fire a great whyle, untill they threwe downe certayne chambers and walles, whereas they had entered at pleasure, had it not bene for the Artillerie, Crossebowes and handgounes, whiche were there in defence of that place.

This

This combat endured all that day untill night, yea and in the night also they had their handes full: our men had litle leasure to sleepe, but rather spent the night in mending the walles and doores, and curing the wounded men who were moze than foure score, & likewise to set their men in order & readinesse for the fight of the next day following.

It was no sooner day, but the Indians beganne they assault a fresh, with moze courage and furie than the day before, so that our men were fayne to trust to their artillery, the whiche the Indians feared not a whitte: for if a shotte carried ten, fiftene or twentie Indians at a clappe, they would close againe as though one man had not bene missing. Cortes came out with other two hundred men, and gate some bridges, burned some houses, and slew many that defended them. But the Indians were so many in number, that no hurte appeared, yea and our men were so fewe in comparison of them, that although they fought all the day, yet had they much a doe to defend themselves; how much moze to offende. What day neuer a Spaniarde was slayne outright, but thre score of them were wounded and hurte, whereby they had inough to do to cure them for that night, and to procure remedy and defence against the hurtes whiche they receyued from the house toppes. They inuented Engines of timber made vpon wheeles, and foure square, couered on the toppe, and with Arte to passe thzough the streetes: there were placed on eache of them twentie men with Pikes, Hargabush, Crossebowes and one double Base. Behinde the Engines wente men with shouels and spattoches, to throtwe downe houses, bulwarkes, and to rule and gouerne the Engines.

A strange  
invention;

¶m.

The

## The Conquest of The death of Mutezuma.



At the while that the Engines were a making, our men came not out to fight, being occupied in the worke, but onely to defende their lodgyng. The enimies thinking that they were all soe hurte and wounded, beganne their warres agayne, reuilyng them with many iniurious wordes, threating them, that if they would not deliuer *Mutezuma*, that they would giue them the moste cruellest death that euer man suffered, and came with great force to haue entred the house.

*Cortes* desired *Mutezuma* to goe vp into the totto, which is the toppe of the flatte rounse of the house, and to commaunde his subiects to cease from their beate and furie. At *Cortes* his request he wente vp, and leaned ouer the wall to talke with them, who beginning to speake vnto them, they threwo so many stones out of the streete, houses and windowes, that one happened to hitte *Mutezuma* on the temples of his head, with whiche blowe he fell doونه to the ground: this was his ende, euen at the handes of his owne subiectes and vassalles agaynst thei willes: for the truth is that a Spaniarde helde a Target ouer his head, wherby they knew him not, nor yet would beleue that he was there, for all the signes and tokens whiche were made vnto them. *Cortes* forthwith published the hurte and daunger of life of *Mutezuma*: some gaue credite to his tale, and other some would not, but rather sought very stoutly. Thre dayes *Mutezuma* remayned in extreme payne, and at the ende departed his life.

And bicause it shoulde appeare that his death was of the stripe that they had giuen, and not by any hurte receyued at their hands, he caused two gentlemen of *Mexico*, who were prysoners, to carry him out vpon their backs, who

who certified the Citizens of the certentie of his death, that at that presente time were giuing battory to the house. But yet for all this they woude not leaue off the combat, nor yet the warres, as some of our men thought they woude, but rather proceeded on their purpose, with greater courage and desire of reuenge. And when they rested, they made a pitifull lamentation, with preparation to bury their king in *Chapultepec*. On this sorte died *Mutezuma*, who was holden for a God among the Indians. Some say that he desired to be Baptised at the Shrouctide befoze his death, and they prolonged the matter, thinking at Easter following to haue christened him with honour and triumph. But as it happened, it had bene better to haue done it at that time according to his request. But with the coming of *Pansilo de Naruarez* the thyng was also delayed, and after hee was wounded it was likewise forgotten, with the troubles that they were in. It was credibly enformed, that *Mutezuma* was neuer consentyng to the death of any Spaniarde, nor yet in conspiracie agaynst *Cortes*, but rather loued him entierly: yet some are of an other opinion, and bothe giue good reasons to approue their arguments, but the truth could not wel be knowen, for at that tyme our men vnderstode not the language, and agayne *Mutezuma* after his death, lefte none to open that secrete.

The Indians affirme that he was of the greatest bloud of all his linage, and the greatest kyng in estate, that euer was in *Mexico*. It is also to be noted, that when the kingdomes do most flourish, then are they nicest to a change, or else to change their Lorde, as both appeare in this history of *Mutezuma*. Our men lost moze by the death of *Mutezuma* than the natural Indians, if we consider the murder and destruction that incontinent did follow. *Mutezuma* was a man very moderate in his diet, and not so vicious  
 as

as other *Indians*, although he had many wiues. He was also liberal and free harted: he was esteemed for a very wise man, in my iudgement he was epyther wise in lettynge things passe after that sorte, or else a very folke, that did not vnderstande their doings: he was as deuoute as warlike, for he had bene presente in many battayles: it is reported that he wanne and had victorie in nine battayles, & also other nine times victorie man for man in the fieldes, he reigned seuentene yeres and certayne moneths.

### The combat betweene the Spaniards and the Indians.



After the death of *Mutezuma*, Cortes sente vnto his *peuewes*, and to the other noblemen who mainteyned the warres, desiring the to come and speake with him, and they came, vnto whome Cortes spake from the wall where *Mutezuma* was layne, saying, that it were mete that they should cease from warre, and to chosse another king, and also to burie the dead, and that he woulde come to his buriall as his friende: likewise he signified vnto them, that for the loue he bare vnto *Mutezuma* who had intreated for them, he had stayed from the finall spoyle of the cittie, & correction of them for their rebellion and obstinacie. But now that he had not vnto whome to haue respect, he woulde bothe burne their houses, and chasten them, if that they submitted not themselves to his friendship.

They answered, that they woulde neyther leave the warres, nor yet esteeme his friendship, vntill they saw themselves in their libertie, and their wrongs wholly reuenged, yea and that without his counsell they coulde elect the king vnto whom of right & kingdome did appertaine.

And

And sithens the Gods hath taken our welbeloued *Mutezuma*, we will giue his body a Sepulchre, as vnto such a king doth apperteyne: yea and if he woulde goe and beare his friend *Mutezuma* company to the Gods, that then he should come forth, and they would quickly dispatch him: and as for the residue, they would haue rather warre than peace, yea and that they were not menne that did decide with wordes. Also seeing their king was dead, for whose respecte they ceased to burne their houses, rost their bodies, and eate their flesh, but now (quoth they) if ye depart not, we will not dally long time with you.

Cortez finding them stout and stubborne, liked not the bargain. Againe, he knew well that their meaning was, that if they hadde departed from the Citie, to haue spoiled and murdered them by the way. And seeing that their lines, rule and gouernement consisted in strength of hand and good courage, he came forth in a morning with the three engines, foure peeces of Ordnance, and five hundred Spaniards, and three thousand *Tlaxcaltecas*, to fight with the enemies, and to burne and spoyle their houses. They brought the engines nere vnto certayne greate houses whiche stode nere vnto a bridge, casting they scaling ladders on the walles, and so got vnto the toppe where many people were, and there combated awhile, but shortly turned to their sorte againe, without doing any greate hurte, with one Spaniarde slayne, and many wounded, and also the engines broken and spoiled, yea the multitude of *Indians* were so thicke, and flew vpon the Ordnance in suche sorte, that they had no leysure to discharge them. The stones came also so thicke from the house toppes, that the engines were sone at an ende. And the Citizens hauing housed them againe in the sorte and lodging, began to amende the hurt done in their houses, and to recover the treasures that were lost: also of great

Sp. 14.

Temple.



Temple, in the Tower whereof, five hundred principall men hadde fortified themselves with battayles, stones, and long Launces, piked with yron and flint stone verpe sharp, but truly they did most hurt with stones. This Tower was high and strong, as I haue before declared, and stode nere vnto the Spanyardes forte, whiche from that tower receiued muche hurt. Although Cortes was somewhat sadde and heauie, yet he ceased not like a good Captayne to comfort and encourage his menne, and alwayes was the firste man at any byunt or assay, and his heart coulde not permitte him to remaine penned vp in that fort, wherefore he toke thre hundred Spanyardes, and went to assiege the high tower. Thre or foure dayes he ceased not that enterpryse, but coulde not come to the toppe, being so high a thing, and manye persons in defence of the same, well prouided, with fitte munition for the purpose, so that our men came dayly tumbling downe the staires, flying to their house with broken pates, so that our Spanyardes dysmayed more and more, and many murmured at the matter: you may well iudge howe Cortes his heart was affrighted, for the Indians increased still in courage, hauing the better hand, and dayly victoery from the high Tower. But nowe Cortes determined to leaue his house, and not to returne therevnto agayne, vntill he had wonne the Tower. He bounde his Target to his arme whiche had bin hurt before, and besieged the Tower againe with many of his men, Tlaxcaltecas and other friends, and many times, although they were beaten downe, arose agayne, succoring one another, tyll at length they got to the toppe, and there fought with the Indians, till some of them lept out of the Tower, and stood hanging vpon the kiffes of the wall, which were thre in number, the one higher than the other, and a fote broad: some fell downe to the ground, who besides their fall, were

A valiant  
man:

were receyued vpon the swordes point, and in this sorte they left none alieue. Thre houres they fought on the top of the Tower, bycause y multitude of Indians was great. In conclusion, the whole five hundred men there dyed very valiantly, and if their weapon and knowledge had bin equall, the victoery had bin doubtfull. Cortes set on all the Chappels, and other thre Chappels, where infinite Idols were, yet those sely Indians lost no point of courage with the losse of their Temple and Gods, which touched them at the heart, but rather began with more furie to assault the Spanish house.

### Howe the Mexicans refused the offer

of peace made by Cortez.



Cortez considering the great multitude of Indians his enemies, and also the greates courage, with desire of reuengement: and waying also how his men were weake and wörped with fight, yet (I may say) with great desire to goe fro thence, if that the Citizens would haue suffered them: he began againe to require them with peace, and to desire them of truce, saying vnto them also, that they should consider, how that many of their sise were slayne, and yet they coulde kill none of them. They being more hard harted than before, answered that they vtterly refused his offer, saying, that they neuer woulde haue peace with those who had slained their men and burned their Gods: yea (quoth they) and although some of vs are killed, yet wee also do both kill and hurt, for ye are mortall men, and not immortall, as we are: beholde ye also the number of vs, vpon Zories, in windowes and strates: assure youre selues there are thre tymes as manye within the houses. So wee shall sooner make an ende of you by kyllyng one and one, than you shall doe of vs by killing

killing a thousande by thousande, or ten thousand by ten thousand: for ending all these whom you see, there will come so many more, and after them so many more: but if ye were once killed, there would come no more Spaniards, yea and when our weapons can not thoroughly destroy you, that then we will sterue you to death with hunger and famine, yea and though now you would depart, it is too late, because your bridges are throwen downe, and the calseys broken, and succoure by water you haue none. In this communications the daye was spent, and night at hand, their heads occupied, and heartes full heauie, for hunger alone hadde bin ynough to finish theyr dayes, without any farther warre. That night, the one halfe of the number of Spaniards armed themselves, and late in the evening came forth into the Citie. The *Indians* now being not accustomed to fight at such houres, the Spaniards burned aboue three hundred houses in one street, and in some of them found many Citizens, of whom they left not one aliue. They burned and spoiled three *Zoties* nere unto their owne lodging, whiche hadde greatly annoyed them before. The residue of the Spaniards whiche abode at home, amended the engins, and repaired their houses. As this iourney hapned well vnto them, early in the morning they proceeded out againe, and wente to the bridge where their engins hadde bin broken, and although they founde there greate resistance, yet the matter imposed their lines. They fought with noble courage, and got many towers, houses and *Zoties*. They wanne also four of the eyght bridges which were in the Citie, leauing gard in those places whiche were worne, returning to their Campe with many wounds, being both weary and full of care and sorrow.

The next daye they came forth againe, and wanne the other foure bridges, and dammed them by with earth, in  
such

such sorte, that the Horsemen that way followed the enimies to the firme lande. Cortez being occupied in damming by the ditches, and making plaine way of the bridges, there came certayne messengers vnto him, saying, that nere at hand, abode many noblemen and Captaines to treat of peace, requiring hym to come vnto them, praying him to bring *Tlamacazque* his prisoner, who was one of the principallest of the *Diuels* Clergie there, to heare the treatie of the matter.

Cortez wente, and carried the Priest with him, whom he appoynted to require them to cease from contention, and to remoue their siege, but he came not backe wth answer. All this was a fayned fetch, to see the state of the Christian Campe, or else to recouer their religious *Tlamacazque*. Cortez seeing theyr decepte, wente bys way to dinner, and was no sooner sette at his meate, but certayne *Tlaxcaltecas* came running in with an open crye, saying, that theyr enimies hadde reconered agayne the bridges, and wente armed by and downe the streets, and hadde also slayne the most of the Spaniards that were leste in garde of the bridges. Incontinent Cortez wente out with the Horsemen, who were readiest at that tyme, and made way through the troupe of enimies, following them euen vnto the firme lande, but at theyr returne, the footemen that were hurt and wearied in keeping of the street, coulde not susteyne the force and furie of the infinite number of *Indians*, whiche came vpon them, yea with muche adoe they coulde escape home to their sorte. The multitude was not so greate of *Indians* in the street, but also by water in Canoes, so that stones flew on both sydes, and galled other men cruelly. Cortez was hurt in one of his knees very sore, wherevpon it was blowne abroad through the Citie, that Cortez was slayne, whiche newes dyd greatly discourage our men,

and much animate the *Indians*. But yet *Cortes* for all his payne and hurt, ceased not to embolden & encourage his *Souldyers*, who set afreshe vpon the enimies. At the last the bridge fel two *Horses*, which troubled muche our men that followed. *Cortes* made suche way among the *Indians*, that the *Horsemen* hadde reasonable passage, and being y hindmost man himselfe, he was in great peril of taking. It was a maruell to see what a spring he gaue with his *Horse*, and thereby escaped, but in conclusion, with stones they were forced to returne to their hold, being very late.

As soon as he had ended his supper, he sente some of his men to gard the ströte and bridges, and to defend the same against the enimie. They were somewhat ioyfull of their proceedings and good successe whiche they hadde the same day,

### Hovve Cortez fledde from

*Mexico.*

**B**ut *Cortes* waiping the substance of the matter, saue in effect that his syde wente to wycke, wherefore he requested his men to departe from thence, who were not a little ioyfull to heare their *Captaine* pronounce that saying, for few or none of them escaped without hurt and wounded. They feared death, but yet wanted not stomache and heart to dye. The *Indians* were so many, that if the *Chyrtians* shoulde but onely haue cutte their throtes without resistance, yet they had bin too few for that purpose.

They were also in such necessitie of bread, that they had them sore. Their powder and shotte was spent, and almost all other prouision. Their house was welnigh beaten

beaten downe about their eares. All these causes were sufficient to leaue *Mexico*, and to seeke to saue their liues: yet on the other side, they iudged it an euill case, to turne their backs to their enimies, for (quoth they) the very stones riseth vp against hym that flyeth. They feared a gayne the passage of the arches where the bridges hadde bin. so that now they were full besette with sorrow, care, and misery: but in syne, they all agreed to departe that night, for many dayes before, one of their companie called *Borello*, who presumed to haue good skyll in the Arte of *Pygromacie*, did declare vnto them, that if they would depart from *Mexico* at a certayne houre appoynted, that then they shuld escape, or else not: but whether they gaue credite to his sayings or no, they fully determined to departe that night, and like vnto politike and good *Souldyers*, they prepared a bridge of tymbre to carrie wyth them, to passe ouer the arches where bridges hadde bin. This is most certayne, they were all priuie and agreede to the departure, and not as some report, that *Cortes* fledde away, leauing aboue two hundred *Spanyarden* in the house, who knewe nothyng of his departure, and were afterwarde all slayne, sacrificed, and eaten in *Mexico*, for out of the Citie he coulde not haue departed so secretly, but it shoulde haue come to their eares: howe muche moze out of one house, where they were all together.

*Cortes* called *Iohn de Guzman* his Chamberlayne, commaunding him to open the hall where the treasure was, and called all the officers and others, to see the distribution of the same. First the kings portion was deducted, and he gaue a *Horse* of his owne, and men to carrie it: and for the remainder, he willed every man to take what he list, for he gaue it frankly vnto them. The souldiers which had come with *Narnaez*, & now serued *Cortes*, were

*pn. y.*

some

Revvards  
of a cour-  
teous mind.

somewhat hungry of treasure, so that they took as much golde and other riches, as they myght possible carrie, but it cost them deere, for at their going out of the Citie, with the waight of their heauie burthens, they coulde neyther sighte, nor yet make hast on their way, vpon whiche occasion, the *Indians* caught many of them, and belew them by the heeles to the slaughterhouse of *Sacrisce*, where they were slayne and eaten: yet those that escaped, had eache of them some profyte, for that pray was well worth seauen hundred thousand *Duchetes*: but beeyng things wrought in greate peces, they were troubled some to carrie, so that he whiche carried least, escaped best. Yet some doe thinke, that there remayned in that house a great parte of the treasure, but it was not so, for after our men had taken what they would, then came in the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and made spoyles of all the rest.

*Cortes* gaue charge to certayne of his menne, to garde with much respecte, a sonne and two daughters of *Muteczuma*, *Cacama*, and his brother, and manye other greate Gentlemen his prisoners.

He also appoynted other souldiers to carrie the brydge of timber, and other *Indians* to carrie the ordnance, and a little grayne of *Centli* that remayned.

The vanguard he committed to *Gonsalo de Sandoval*, and *Antonio de Quintanes*; and the reregarde he committed to *Pedro de Aluaredo*, and he hymselfe remayned with a hundred men, to vse his discretion. In this order, and with good deliberation, at midnight he departed from *Mexico* in a darke myst, and so quietly, that none of the *Indians* knewe thereof, commendynge themselves vnto *God*, beseechynge hym in theyr prayers, to deliuer them from that presente daunger, and take the way of *Tlacopan*, beeyng the same way that he came into the Citie.

The

The firste arche whereof the brydge was throwen downe, they passed with the timber brydge whiche they carried with them at ease.

In this meane time the watche and espies which watched in the hiest temples, had descried their flight, and began to sounde their instruments of warre with a marvellous crye, saying, they flye, they flye: And sodenly with this noyse, they hauing no armour to put on, nor other impediment, ioynded an infinite company of them together, and followed with greate celeritie, yea and with suche a heauy and terrible noyse, that all the lake pronounced the *Eccho*, saying, let the cursed and wicked be slayne, who hath done vnto vs such great hurte.

But when *Cortes* came to plante his brydge vpon the second arche of the Citie, there mette him a greate company of *Indians* to defende the same, yet with much adoe he planted his brydge and passed ther vpon with fye horsemen and a hundred Spaniards, and with them proceeded through the Calley to the mayne lande passing many perillous places, wherein swamme both man and horse, for the brydge of timber was broken: this done, he lefte his wife menne on the firme lande, vnder the gouernement of *John Xaramillo*, and returned backe with the fye horsemen for to succour and helpe the residue of his company whiche were behinde. But when he came vnto them, he found some fighting with great courage, but many slaine. He lost also his golde and sardage, his ordnance and prisoners, yea in fine he founde a marvellous change and alteration of the estate he lefte them in, where vpon lyke a good Captayne he shewed his wisdom and valour, helppynge and recoveryng as many of his men, as he myght, and brought them into safetie. He lefte also Captayne *Aluaredo* to succour the reste.

But *Aluaredo* with all his power and strength could

pn.ij.

not

not resist the fury of the enemies, wherefore with the Lance in his hande he beganne to sic, saying the greateslaughter of his company, so that hee was forced to passe over the dead carcases, yea and upon some that were not thoroughly dead, who made a lamentable, pittifull, and dolefull noise. And coming to the next arche, whose byrge was broken downe, of necessity he took his Lance, and therewith leaped such a space, that the *Indians* were amazed to see, for none of his fellows could doe the like, although they approued the enterprise, and were drowned for their labour.

When *Cortes* sawe this sorrowfull sight, he sate hym downe, not to take any rest for his wearinesse, but only to bewaile the dead men, yea and also them that were alive and in greates danger, and also to ponder the vntedfastnesse of cruell fortune in the perdition of so many his friends, such great treasure and lordshippe, so greates Cittie and Kingdome, but also to bewaile the sorrowfull estate that he himselfe stode in, saying the moste of his men wounded & hurte, and knowing not whither to goe, for that he was not certayne of the helpe and friendship of *Tlaxcaltecas*. Yea and what hard hart, would not haue relented to behold the dead bodies, who a litle before had entred that same way, with such magnificall triumphe, pompe and pleasure. But yet having care of those whom he had left on the firme lande, he made haste to *Tlacopan*.

This sorrowfull night, which was the tenth of July in *An. 1520*. were slaine aboute. 450. Spaniards, 4000. *Indian* friends, and 46. horse, yea & (as I iudge) all the prisoners which were in his company. If this mishap had fortuned in the day time, possible so many and so great a number had not perished. But where it fortuned by night, the noise of the wounded was sorrowfull, & of the victors horrible and feareful. The *Indians* cried vnto, calling vpon their

their diuclish and filthy Goddes with ioy & pleasure, our men being overcome, cursed their vnforsunate lot, yea the howler, and he that brought them thither, others cried vnto God for succour, others sayd helpe, help, for I stande in danger of drowning. I know not certainly whether more perished in the water or the lande, hopping to saue themselves by swimming and leaping ouer the flues and broken places, for they say, that a Spaniard was no sooner in the water, but an *Indian* was vpon his backe. They haue great dexterity & skill in swimming, so that catching any Spaniard in the water, they would take him by the one arme, and carrie him whither they pleased, yea & would vnpance him in the water. If these *Indians* had not occupied themselves in taking the spoyle of those that were fallen and slaine, certainly one Christian had not escaped that day: but in fine, the greatest number of Spaniards that were killed, were those that went moste laden with golde plate and other iewels, & those which escaped, were they that carried least burdens, & the first that with noble courage made way to passe through the troupe of *Indians*.

Some wee may safely say, that the covetous desire of gold, wherof they had plenty, was cause of their death, and they may answer that they died riche. After that those, which had escaped, were passe the calsep, the *Indians* stayed and followed them no further, eyther for that they contented themselves with that which they had done, or else they durst not fight in open fieldes: But principally it is thought, that they abode to mourne and lament for the death of *Moteczuma* his chylde, not knowing till then their sorrowfull ende. But now seeing the thing present before their eyes, they wraung their hands, and made a pittifull dole and crye, and the rather, because they themselves had layne them against their willes.

## The battayle of Otumpan, a notable victory.



**L**he Inhabitants of *Tlacopan*, knewe not how our men came spoyled, hurte, and ouerthrowen, and againe our men stode in a maze, and knew not what to doe nor whither to goe. *Cortes* came vnto them, & resorted them & placed them in order before him, requyring them to make hast, vntill they might come into the broad field, before such tyme as the men of *Tlacopan* shoulde heare of the newes passed, & so to arme themselves and to ioyne with fourtie thousande *Mexicans*, who after the mourning for their friends, came marchyng after them. He placed in the vanguard the *Indians* his friends, and passed through certayne tilled grounde, and continually fought as they went, vntill they came to a high hill, where was a towre and a Temple, whiche is called our Lady church at this day.

The *Indians* slewe some of the *Spaniards* whiche came in the reregard, and many of their *Indian* friends, before they could get vp to the toppe of the hill. They losse muche of the golde, that had remayned, and with greates hazarde escaped through the multitude of *Indians* with life, their horses whiche remayned alive, were some and twentie, who were tyred both with trauell and hunger, & the *Spaniards* their maisters, with the reasons could scarcely stirre hande or foote with wearinesse of fightyng, and penurie of hunger, for al that day and night they ceased not from fight, eating nothing at all.

In this Temple were reasonable longings, where they fortified themselves as well as they myght, and thanks one to an other, but they supper was very slender. After their simple feast was ended, they went and beheld

an infinite number of *Indians*, whiche had beset them almost round about, making a marvellous shout and crye, knowing that they were without victuals, whiche onely is a warre worse than to fight with the enimie. They made many fires with the wodde of sacrifice, round about the towre and Temple, & with this pollicie, at midnight departed secretly. It happened that they had *Alpayncul* *calteca* to be their guide, who knew well the way, assuring to bring them into the iurisdiction of *Tlaxcallan*: with this guide they began to iourney. *Cortes* placed his wounded men and sardage in the middell of his company, the soldiers that were whole and in health, he deuised into the vanguard & reregard: he could not passe so secretly, but they were espyed by the *Indian* scout, whiche was nere at hand, who gaue aduise thereof incōtinent. fīue horsemen which went before to discover, fell among certayne companies of *Indians*, which attended their coming to robbe them, & seeing the horsemen, they suspected that the whole army was at hand, wherupon they fled, but yet seeing them few in number, stode and ioynd with the other *Mexicans* that followed & pursued our men three leagues vntill they came to a hill where was another temple with a good towre & lodgyng, where they lodged that night without supper. They departed in the morning from thence, and went through a cragged & naughty way, to a great towne the inhabitants whereof were fledde for feare, so that they abode there two dayes to rest themselves, to cure their men, & horses: also they somewhat eased their hāgers. Some mares and carried from thence prouision, although not much, for they had none to carrie it. And being departed from thence, many enimies pursued them & persecuted them very sore. Likewise the guide turned out of his way, & at length came to a little village of few houses, where they reposed the night. In the morning they proceeded upon their way, and the



enimies still pursuing and troubled them soze all the day.

Cortes  
wounded  
with a  
sling.

Cortes was wounded with the stripe of a sling, and there-  
with was in greate daunger of life, for his head so ranc-  
bled, that of necessitie they were forced to take out cer-  
taine peeces of his skull, wherupon he was driuen to seke  
a solitarie place in the wilbernesse to cure him, and in  
goynge thitherwardes, the enimies wounded five Spa-  
niardes and foure hozses, whereof one died, and that was  
eaten among them for a sumptuous supper, and yet not  
sufficient for them all, for there was none of them whiche  
were not vexed with hunger. I speake not of their  
woundes and wearinesse, things sufficient to haue made  
an ende of lyfe. But certainly the Spanishe nation can  
abide moze hunger than any other, and especially these  
with Cortes byd shewe the pzoofe. The nexte day in the  
mornynge departing from a litle Village, and fearyng the  
multitude of enimies, Cortes commaunded eche hozsemian  
to take a sicke marme behinde him, and those that were  
somewhat stronger, to holde by the hozse tayles and stir-  
ropes: he likewise made cruches for other some to ease  
them, and woulde not leaue one of his men behinde him  
to be a pray and supper for the Indian enimies. This ad-  
uise was very profitable as things fell out, yea also there  
were some of them that carried upon their backe their  
fellowes, & thereby were saued. They had not iourneyed  
a salt lenglue into a playne felde, when therenietto them  
an infinite number of Indians who compassed them round  
about, and assaulted our men in such sorte, that they ve-  
rily beloued that day to ende generally their liues, for  
there were many Indians that durst to asseill with our  
men, man to man, yea and layd some of them in the duste,  
and drewe them by the haies, whether it were with the  
great courage whiche they had, or whether it were with  
the frauayle, hunger and hurt of our men. I know not,  
but

Oh noble  
Cortez.

but great pittie it was to see, how they were drawn by  
the Indian enimies, and what gricuous mone they made.

Cortes that wente with vigilant care comfortynge his  
men, as muche as was possible to doe, and well perusing  
the great daunger that they were in, commendynge him-  
selfe to God, sette spurres to his horse and made way thro-  
row the greatest troupe of Indians, and came vnto the  
captayne generall who bare the Royall standart of Mex-  
ico, and passed him through with his Lance, whereof he  
incontinent died. But when the Indians sawe the standart  
fallen, they threw their auncient on the grounde and fled,  
scattering them here and there like men amazed, know-  
ing not whither to fly, for such is their custome in warre,  
that when they see the generall flayne, they forthwith  
leaueth the felde. When our wery soules began to recouer  
hart and strength, and the hozsemen followed the to their  
great anoyance and slaughter. It was credibly reported,  
that there were that day in felde, 200000 Indians. And the  
felde where this battayle was fought is called Otumpan: 200000  
there was neuer a moze notable facte done in India, nor  
greater victorie since the first discovery of the same. And  
as manye Spaniardes as sawe Hernando Cortes fighte  
that day, did helde opinion, that neuer one man did moze  
greater feates in armes, and that he only was the means  
in his owne person to saue and deliuer them all.

Oh valiant  
Cortez.

200000  
Indians,

### The entertaynement vvhiche the

Spaniardes had in Tlaxcallan.



After this victorie obtayned, Cortes with his  
company went to lodge in a house planted  
alone, in a playne grounde, from whence  
appeared the Mountaynes of Tlaxcallan,  
whereof our men muche reioyced: yet

Do. ij.



on the other side they stood in doubt whether they should find them their friends in such a dangerous season, for because the unfortunate man that lieth, findeth nothing in his favour, for all thing that he pretendeth, happeneth cleane contrary. That night Cortes himselfe was scout, not because he was more whole then his fellows, but like a good Captaine, he deuised the traualle & paynes equally; euen as their hurte and damage was come.

Being day, they iourneyed in plaine and straight way, directly to the Mountaynes and Province of *Tlaxcallan*, they passed by a sweete fontaine of water, where they well refreshed themselves, and after they came to *Huazilipan*, a towne of *Tlaxcallan*, of 4000. households, where they were lovingly receiued & abundantly provided for three dayes, whiche they abode there refreshing & curing their weary bodies. Some of the townes men would giue the nothing without payment, but the moste parte did vse them very gently: Unto this towne came *Maxixca*, *Xicotencatl*, *Axotencatl*, and many other principall persons of *Tlaxcallan*, and *Huexotzinco* with 50000. men of warre, who were going to *Mexico* to succour the Spaniards, knowyng of their troubles, but not of their hurte and spoyle, yet some bold opinion that they hauing certayne knowledge of all theyr misshappes and flight from *Mexico*, came only to comforte them, and in the name of all theyr communalte and state, to offer them their towne, in conclusion, they seemed sorrowfull for their misfortunes, and a gayne ioyfull to see them there: And some of them with anguish of harte wepte, and sayde, wee did aduise and warn you, that the *Mexicans* were Captours and wicked persons, and yet ye would not beleue vs: wee doe pittie and bewaile your troubles; but if it please you, lette vs goe thither to redenge your miseries, and the death of your children, and our Citizens, and if now ye will

Faythfull  
friends.

will not, that then it may please you to goe with vs home to our houses, for to recreate your persons, and to cure your woundes.

Cortes did cordially reioyce, to heare and finde such succour and friendship, in such good men of warre, whereof he stood in doubt as he came thitherward. He gaue them most hartie thanks for their louing offer, curtesie, and good will. He gaue vnto them of such Jewels as remained, and sayd vnto them, the time will come, that I shall desire your helpe against the *Mexicans*, but now presently it is needefull, to cure my sicke and wounded men.

The noble men that were there present, besought him to giue them leaue to skirmish with the *Indians* of *Culhua*, for as yet many of them wandered there aboute. Cortes graunted their request, and sente with them some of his men, which were lustie, and in good health, who proceeded forth all together, and in that iourney slew many *Indian* enemies, so that after this time, the enemies appeared no more. Then with triumph, pleasure, and victory, they departed toward the Citie, and our men followed. It is credibly reported, that twenty thousande men and women met them by the way with sundry kindes of meates: I do beleue that the most of them came to see them, for the great loue whiche they bare vnto them, and likewise to enquire of their friends which had gone with them to *Mexico*, of whome few returned. In *Tlaxcallan* they were honorably receiued, and well bled. *Maxixca* gaue his house to Cortes, and the residue of his company were hosted at Gentlemens houses, who cherished them exceedingly, whereby they forgotte the paynes, sorowes, and travels past, for in fiftene dayes before, they lay on the bare ground.

Certainely the Spaniards were muche indebted to the *Tlaxcaltecos*, for their loyaltie and faythfull friendship,  
Do. 19. especially

especially vnto that good and vertuous Gentleman *Maxica*, who threwe *Xicotencatl* downe the stappes and steppes of the chiefe Temple, for giuing his counsell to kill the Spanyardes, meaning to reconcile hymselfe with the *Mexicans*.

He also made two Orations, the one to the men, and the other to the women, in the greate fauours and prayse of the Spanyardes, putting them in remembrance, howe that they hadde not eaten salt, nor woone cloth of cotton wools in many yeares befoze, vntil now that their friends were come: and to this day these *Indians* doe muche presume of their fidelitie, and likewise of the resistance and battayle they made with *Cortes* in *Teotacazingo*, so that now when they celebrate any great feast, or receyue any Christian bishping, there cometh of them out into the field fiftie or seauentie thousande men, to skirmishe and fight in the same order as they did with *Cortes*.

### The protestation and request of the Souldyers to *Cortes*.



When *Cortes* departed firste from *Tlaxcallon* towarde *Mexico* to visit *Mutezuma*, he lefte there twentie thousande Castles of golde and moe, besides the Kings portion which was sent with *Montei* and *Percarrero*. He lefte there also manye other things if neede should haue happened in *Mexico* of money, or other things to provide his men in *Vera Cruz*, and this he lefte there also, to proue the fidelitie of his friends in *Tlaxcallon*. And after he had obteyned the victorie against *Naruaez*, he wrote vnto the Captayne that he should sende for the same, for reason required that in all things they should haue their partes.

The

The Captaine of *Vera Cruz* sente fiftie Spanyardes and foure Hozlemen for the same, who at their returne, were slayne and taken prisoners with all that treasure, by y men of *Culhua* who had rebelled thzough the coming of *Pamfilo de Naruaez*, robbing and spoyling sundrye dayes. But when *Cortes* vnderstode this newes, his joy was turned to sorrowe, not onely for the golde and treasure so muche, as for the losse of his menne, fearyng also some other warre or bypoyse to haue bin in the riche Towne of *Vera Cruz*, wherebpon he sente a messenger thither, who returned in shorte time, certifying that all the inhabitantes there were in good health, and also all the *Comarcans* quiet, and without any token of alteration. This newes and answer pleased *Cortes* and all his company, whiche desired to goe thither, but he woulde not permitte them, wherefoze they began to murmur and to exclaime, saying, what thinketh *Cortes*, what meaneth he to doe with vs: why, will he keepe vs here to dye an euill death: what haue we offended him, that he will not let vs goe: we are already full of wearinesse, our bodies are yet full of fresh woundes, we haue spent our bloude, and are nowe withoute strength and apparell: we see oure selues in a straunge Countrey, and full of miserie, enuironed with enimies, yea and without hope to come to that hygh place from whence we fell, yea then mighte we haue accompted for worse than madde men, to come into the perill from whence we escaped: we meane not nowe to ende oure lyues so desperately, as he woulde haue vs, for wyth the insatiable thirste of honoure and glozpe, he esteemeth not his life, neyther oures. He doth not lykelysse consider, that he wanteth menne, hozses, artillerie, and armour, things so necessarye for the warres, yea he also wanteth victuall, whyche is a thyng moste principall: what shall we saye,

Exclamation.

but

but that he erreth, and is deceyved, in giuing credite to these *Thlaxcaltecas*, who are like vnto the other nations of *India*, which are light, changeable, and louers of newe things, yea and rather, in effeate of troth, they better loue the *Culhuacans*, than the Spanishe nation, yea and although they nowe dissemble, yet when they shall see a greate army of *Mexicans* come vpon them, they will then deliuer vs aliue, to be eaten, and sacrificed, for it is an olde rule, that friendship dothe not long endure betwixte them that are of sundry religion, apparell, and spech.

After all these complayntes and murmurations amōg themselves, they made a protestation and request, in forme as it were in the name of the King and all the company, praying him incontinent to departe fro thence, and to goe with them to the Towne of *Nera Cruz*, befoze the enimies mighte disturbe their way and passage, and then they to remayne both bought and solde, and shutte vp as it were in a prison: also they declared, that in *Nera Cruz* they should haue better oportunitie to make themselves strong, if that he meante to returne agayne vpon *Mexico*, or else to take shipping, if to it shoulde seme conuenient.

Cortez hearing this request, and determination of his Souldyers, was at his wits ende, ymagining that they pretence was, onely to procure him to goe from thence, and afterwards to rule him at their pleasures, and being a thing cleane contrary to his pretended purpose, he answered them as followeth.

The

The Oration made by Cortez in answer to his Souldyers demaunde.



**M**y maisters, I would do and fulfill youre request, if it were a thing mete and conueniente for you, for there is not one alone of you, how much more all in generall, for whome I shoulde not willingly aduenture my goodes and life, if he shoulde neede the same: for why? your deedes haue bin such, that I stand bound neuer to forget the, or else to shewe my selfe an ingratfull man. And thinke you not good friendes, although I do not fulfill the thing whiche you so earnestly desire, that therefore I esteeme not youre authoritie: but in not graunting to the same, I do exalt and esteeme you in greater reputation: for why? in oure departing nowe from hence, oure honoz is blotted and stayned for euer more, and in abiding here, we shall like valiant menne preserve the same. What nation is there, that had rule, dominon, and Empire in this world, that hath not bin overcome at some time? What famous Captayne returned home to his house, for the losse of one battayle? none truly, for he that dothe not perseuer, shall neuer triumph with Lady Victorie: he that retyreth, sheweth that he flyeth, and remaineth a mockingstocke for all men: but hee that sheweth nobly his face, dothe offer the courage of his heart, yea and is both feared, and also beloued.

If we now should depart from hence, these our friends would accept and iudge vs for cowardes, and refuse perpetually our friendship. Likewise oure enimies would iudge the same, and neuer hereafter stande in feare of vs, which shoulde be a greate shame vnto oure estimation. Is there any amōg vs, that would not holde himselfe

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affrented,

affrented, if it shoulde be sayde, that he turned his backe and fledde, how much moze would it be a dishonoz for vs all to haue the same report?

I doe muche maruell at the greatenesse of your inuincible heartes in battell: you were wont to be desirous of warres, and nowe that suche iust and laudable warre both offer it selfe, you doe feare and refuse the same: sure it is a thing cleane contrary to oure nature. What is hee that will prate of harnes, and neuer ware none? It was neuer yet seene in all this *India* and new world, that any of our nation retired with feare. And would you nowe that it shoulde be said, that *Cortes* and his company fledde, being in securitie, and without perill or daunger? I beseech God not to permitte any suche thing. The warres doe muche consist in fame: why then? what better thyng would you desire, than to be heere in *Tlaxcallan* in despite of all youre enemies, yea proclayming open warres againste them, and they not dare to annoy vs? Therefore you may well consider, that heere you are moze sure than if you were from hence, so that heere in *Tlaxcallan* you are honozed with securitie and strength, and besides this, you haue al things necessary of phisicke and medicine to cure youre woundes and obteyne your health: yea, and I am bolde to saye, that if you were in youre owne naturall Countrey, you shoulde not haue the like, nor yet so much made off.

I do nowe meane to send for ourmen that are in *Cacacoas* and *Almeria*, and so we shall haue a reasonable army: yea and although they come not, we are sufficient, for we were selwer in number when first we entred into this Countrey, hauing no friendes: and likewise you knowe well, it is not the number that doth fighte, but the couragious hearte and minde. I haue seene one of you discomfite a whole army, as *Jonata* did, yea and manye among

among you haue had victoꝝ against a thousand, yea ten thousand *Indians*, as King *David* had againste the *Philistines*. I looke dayly for horses from the *Ilandes*, and other armour and artillerie we shall haue from *Vera Cruz*. And as for bittayles, take you no care, for I will prouide you abundantly, for they are thinges that alwayes followe the Conquerours: and as for these Citizens of *Tlaxcallan*, I binde my selfe that you shall finde them trustie, loyall, and perpetuall friendes, for so they haue promised me vpon their solemne othes, yea, and if they had meante otherwise, what better oportunitie of time could they haue wished, than these latter dayes, where as we lay sicke in their owne beddes and houses, yea some of vs lame, wounded, and in manner rotten, and they like louing friendes haue not only holpen you, but also serued you with diligence of seruantes, for they would rather chuse to be your slaues, than subiectes to the *Mexicans*: theyr hatred is suche to them, and their loue so great to you. And bycause you shall see the troth, I will now proue them and you, againste these of *Tepeacac*, who slewe of late dayes twelue Spanyardes. And if this iourney happen euill, then will I followe youre request, and if it please God that it happen well, then will I entreate and pray you to follow my counsell.

The Shoulders hearing this comfortable speeche, began to lay aside their desire to goe from thence to *Vera Cruz*. They answered generally, that they would obey his commaundemente, it shoulde seme with the promise made, touching the successe of the victoꝝ in *Tepeacac*, and lightly seldome it happeneth, that a Spanyard saith no, when he is required to goe on warfare, for it is holden for a dishonoz and shame.

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## The vvarres of Tepeacac.



Cortes found himselfe at hearts ease with this answer, for it was a thing he had much troubled him: & undoubtedly if he had followed his fellows demand, he should neuer haue recovered Mexico agayne, & they likewise had bin slayne in the way towards Vera Cruz, for they hadde manye perillous places to passe. Each one of them wared whole of his wounds, sauing some which dyed for wāt of loking to in time, leauing their wounds filthy & vnbound, as Surgiōs doe affirme, with also their great trauell & weaknesse. And likewise other some remayned lame and halt, which was no small grieffe and losse: but the most parte recovered healthe, as I haue declared. After twenty dayes fully past, whiche they had abode in Tlaxcallan, Cortes determined to make warre with the Indians of Tepeacac, which is a great towne, and not farre from thence, for they hadde slayne twelue Spanyards, whiche came from Vera Cruz towards Mexico. Likewise they were of the league of Culhua, and therfore were holpen by the Mexicans, and did many times great hurt to the inhabitantes of Tlaxcallan, as Xicotencatl did testifie. Cortes desired by his louing friende Maxitca, and diuers other Gentlemen, to goe with him, who forthwith entred into counsell wpyth the states and comunaltie of the Citie, and there determined with generall consente to gyue vnto him fortie thousand fighting men, besides many Tamemoz, who are sote carriers, to beare the baggage, victuall, and other things. With this number of Tlaxcaltecas, his owne men and horses, he wente to Tepeacac, requiring them in satisfaction of the death of his twelue Chyrtians, that they shuld now yelde themselves to the obedience of the Emperour, and that hereafter neuer moze to receiue any Mexican into

into theyr towne or houses, neyther yet any of the prouince of Culhua.

The Tepeacacs answered, that they had slaine the Spanyardes for good and iuste cause, whiche was, that being tyme of warre they presumed to passe thzough their countrey by force, without their will and licence. And also that the Mexicans and Culhuacans were their friendes and Lordes, whom alwayes they would friendly entertayne within their towne and houses, refusing utterly their offer and request, protesting to giue no obedience to whom they knew not, wishing them therfore, to returne incontinent to Tlaxcallan, excepte they had desire to ende their wperie dayes.

Cortes innuited them diuers times with peace, and seeing it preuailed not, he begā his warres in earnest. Their enimies lykelike with the fauour of the Culhuacans were bzaue and lustie, and began to stoppe and defend their pretended entraunce. And they being many in number, with diuers valiant men among them, began to skirmishe sundry times, but at the end, they were ouerthrowen, and many slayne, without killing any Spanyarde, although many Tlaxcaltecas were killed that day.

The Lordes and principall persons of Tepeacac seying theyr ouerthrow, and that their strength coulde not preuaile, yelded themselves vnto Cortes for vassalles of the Emperour, with condition to banish for euer their allied friendes of Culhua. And that he should punish and correct at his will and pleasure, all those whiche were occasion of the death of the twelue Spanyardes. For which causes and obstinacie, at the firste Cortes iudged by his sentence, that all the townes whiche had bene priue to the murder, should for euer remaine captiues and slaues: others affirmed that he overcame them without any condition, and corrected them for their disobedience, being sodomites,

idolaters and eaters of mans flesh, and chiefly for crāple of all others. And in conclusion, they were condemned for slaues, and within twentie dayes that this warres lasted, he pacified all that prouince, which is very great: he drave from thence the *Culhuacans*: he threw downe the idols, and the chiefe persons obeyed him. And for more assurance he builde there a towne, naming it *Segura de la Frontera*: he appoynted all officers for the purpose, being a towne situated in the high way from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, wherby the Christians and straungers mighte passe without daunger. In this warres serued lyke faithfull friends the Indians of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco* and *Cholalla*, promysing the lyke seruice and succour agaynst *Mexico*, yea and rather better than worse. With this victorie the Spaniards recouered great fame, for they were thought to haue bene slayne.

### The great auctoritie that Cortez had among the Indians.



After all these things were finished, Cortez commaunded & gaue licence to al the Indian friēds, to returne home vnto their houses, except his assured friends of *Tlaxcallan*, whō he kept in his company for the warres of *Mexico*: he nowe dispatched a poste to *Vera Cruz*, commaundyng that foure of the shippes which *Narvaez* had brought, should be sent with al speede to the Island of *Santo Domingo*, for men, horses, armour, poudre & other munition, also for wollen cloth, linnen, shooes, and many other things: and wrote his letters for the same to the licenciat *Rodrigo de Figueroa*, and to the whole magistrates of *Chancery*, certifying them of all their proceedings in that countrey, beseechynge them of helpe and succour, and that

that forthwith to be sent by the messenger.

This done, he sente twentie horsemen, two hundred Spaniards, and many Indians vnto *Zacatami* and *Xalaxinco*, whiche were townes subiect to the *Mexicans*, and placed in the high way to *Vera Cruz*, who had slayne certaine Spaniards passyng that way. This company wente thither, with their accustomed protestations, whiche preuailed not, whereupon followed fire and spoyles: many Gentlemen and other principall persons came to yelde themselves to Cortes, more for feare than for good will, cravynge pardon for theyr offence, promising also not to offende agayne, nor yet at any tyme to take armour agaynst the Spaniards. Cortes pardoned them, & then his armie returned, with determination to keepe his Christmasse in *Tlaxcallan*, whiche was within twelue dayes following. He left a Captaine with three score Spaniards in the newe towne of *Segura*, to keepe that passage, and also to put in feare the *Comarcans* that dwelled thereabout: he sente before him his whole armie, and he himself went with twentie horsemen from thence to *Coliman* to lodge there that night, being a cittle of his allied friends, and there to ordaine and make by his auctoritie, bothe noble men and Captaynes in lue of them whiche died with the disease of small pockes. He abode there three dayes, in the whiche the newe Lordes were ordeyned, who afterwards remayned his especiall friends. The nexte day he came to *Tlaxcallan*, beyng five leagues distant from thence, where he was triumphantly receyued. And truly at that time he made a iourney most worthe of renowne and glory.

At this season his deere friende *Maxica* was departed this transitorye lyfe, for whome he mourned clothed in blacke, after the Spanishe fashion: he left behinde him certaine sonnes, of whom the eldest was xij. yeres of age, whom



whome Cortes named and appoynted for Lorde of his fathers estate, and the commons did certifie it to appertaine vnto him. This was no small glozy for Cortes to giue estates, and also to take them away at his pleasure, yea and that those Indians should haue him in suche feare and respect, that none durste doe any thyng in acceptyng the inheritance of their fathers without his good will and licence.

Now Cortes procured that every man shoulde make his harneys, weapons and prouision readie and in good order: he made also great haste in building Vergantines, for his timber was already cutte and seasoned: he sente vnto *Vera Cruz* for sayles, tackle, nayles, roapes and other necessarie things, whereof there was store remaynyng of the furniture of the shippes that were sunke. And hauyng wante of pitche, for in that countrey the Indians knewe not what it meant, he commaunded certayne of his Mariners to make the same in the highe Spoutaynes where was store of Wine trees, and not farre from the citie.

The Vergantines that Cortez commaunded to be built, and the spaniardes which he had ioyned together to besiege Mexico.



The fame of prosperitie whiche Cortes enjoyed, was wonderfully blowne abroad with the newes of the imprisonment of *Moteczuma*, and the victoꝝ against *Pamfilo de Naruaez*, wherevpon there came many Spaniardes by twenty and twentie in a company from *Cuba*, *Santo Domingo*, and other *Islandes*. Although that iourney coste some their liues, for in the way they were murdered by those of *Tepeacac* and *Xalacinc*, as is before declared, yet notwithstanding there came

came many to *Tlaxcallan*, whereby his hoste was muche increased, beseechyng him to make haste toward the warres.

It was not possible for Cortes to haue espies in Mexico, for the *Tlaxcaltecas* were knowen by their lippes, eares, and other tokens, and also they had in Mexico garde and great enquire for that purpose, by reason wherof he could not certainly knowe what passed in those parties, according as he desired, for to haue prouided himself of things needefull: yet a Captayne whiche was taken prisoner in *Huacacholla*, certified that *Cuetlauac* Lorde of *Izcapalapan*, *Penelwe* to *Moteczuma*, was elected Emperour after his Uncles death, who was a wise and valiant man, and hee it was that had dyuen Cortes out of Mexico, who now had fortified Mexico with many bulwokes and caues, and with many and sundry sortes of weapon, but chiefly very long Lances, yea and planted them in the ground to resiste and molest the horsemen. He proclaymed pardon and free libertie, without paying any tribute for the space of one whole yere, yea and further as long as the warres should laste, he promysed also great rewardes to all them that shoulde kill any Christian, or expulse them from that countrey. This was a policie whereby he gatte muche credite among his vassals, yea and gaue them great courage to play the valiant men. All this newes was founde to be true, sayyng onely *Cuetlauac* was dead. And that *Quahutimocin*, *Penelwe* also, as some doe say, of *Moteczuma*, raygned at that tyme, who was a valiant man and a good warriour, as hereafter shalbe declared, who sente his messengers through out his Emprre, proclaymyng as great rewardes as *Cuetlauac* had done before, declaryng vnto them that it was more reason to serue him than straungers, and also to defende theyr olde aunient Religion, and not to credite suche Christians as woulde make them



themselves Lordes of other mens goodes, yea and make them slaves and captives as they had done in other places. *Quahutimoc* encouraged muche his subiectes, and kindled with his talke their wrath agaynst the Spaniards: yet there were some prouinces that gaue no eare to his information, but rather leaned to our side, or else mediated with neyther side. Cortes seying the effect of the matter, determined forthwith to beginne the warres: he mustered his men on Saint Steuens day, and founde fourtie hoysenmen, and fise hundred & fourtie footemen, whereof foure score were Hargabushiers, and crossebow men, niene peeces of ordinaunce, and little powder: his hoysenmen he diuided into foure squares, and his footemen into nine: he named & appointed captaynes, and other officers so, the best, vnto whom in general he spake as followeth.

The exhortation of Cortez to  
his souldiers.



**M**oung brethren, I geue mosse hartie thanks vnto Iesu Christ, to see you now whole of your woundes and free from diseases: likewise I muche reioyce to see you in good order trimly armed, yea and with such desire to sette agayne vpon *Mexico*, to reuenge the death of our fellowes, and to winne that greate Citie, the whiche I truste in God shalbe brought to passe in shorte time, hauing the friendship of *Tlaxcallan* and other prouinces, who haue as great desire to see the ouerthrowe of the *Mexicans*, as we our selues, so therein they gette both honour, libertie & safegarde of life. Also it is to be considered, that if the victorie shoulde not be ours, they poore soules shoulde be destroyed and remaine in perpetuall captiuitie. Also the *Culhuacans* do abhorre them worse than vs, for recey

receyuing vs into their houses and countrey: therefore I am that they will sticke vnto vs vnfaynedly. I muste needs confesse their vnfayned friendship, for presente woorkes doe testifie the same. They will not onely be a meane to byng others their neyghbours to our seruice, but also haue now in readinesse. 100000. men of warre, to sende with vs, besides a great nuber of *Tamemes* or carriers to carrie al our prouision. We also, are now the same which alwaies heretofore ye haue bene, for I as witnesse beyng your captayne, haue had the victorie of many battayles fighting with 1100. yea & 200000. enemies: we got also by strength of arme many strong cities, yea & brought in subiection many prouinces, not beyng so many in number as we are now, for when we came firste into this countrey we were not so many as now presently we are. Agayne in *Mexico* they feare our coming: it should also be a blot vnto our honour that *Quahutimoc* shoulde inherite & kingdome that cost our friend *Mutezuma* his life. Likewise I esteeme al that we haue done is nothing, if we winne not *Mexico*, our victories shoulde also be sorrowfull if we reuenge not the death of our deere fellowes. The chiefe and principall cause of our coming into this countrey, was to set forth the faith of Iesu Christ, & therewithal both solow honour & profite which seldome times do dwell together. In those fewe dayes that we were in *Mexico*, we put downe the idols, we caused sacrifice and eatyng of mans flesh to be layde aside, and also in those dayes we beganne to conuerte some to the fayth. It is not therefore now reason to leaue of so laudable an enterpryse, so well begonne. Lette vs now goe whither holy fayth doth call vs, and where the finnes of our enemies deserueth so great a punishment, and if ye well remember, the Citizens of that Citie were not content to murder such an infinite number of men, women & children before the idols,

in their filthy sacrifice, for honour of their Diuelishe Goddess, but also to eate their fleshe, a thyng inhumayne, and much abhorred of God, and al good men doth procure, and especially Christians, to defende and punisher suche odious customes.

Besides all this, they committe that horrible sinne for the whiche the five cities with *Sodom* were burned by fire from heauen: Why then what greater occasion should any man wishe for in earth, than to abolish such wickednesse, and to plant among these bloudy tyrants the sayth of Iesu Christ, publishing his holy gospel? Therfore now, with ioyfull hartes lette vs procede to serue God, honour our nation, to enlarge our Princes dominions, and to enrich our selues with the goodly pray of *Mexico*, to morrow God willing we will beginne the same.

All his men answered with cherefull countenance, that they were ready to departe when it pleased him, promising their faithful seruice vnto him. It should seme the rather with the desire of that pleasure and greate treasure whiche they had eyght moneths enioyed before.

Cortes commaunded to proclayme throughout his army, certaine ordinaunces of warre for the good gouernement of his hoste, whiche he had wrytten among others: and were these that followeth:

That none should blasfeme the holy name of Iesus.

That no souldier should fight with his fellowe.

That none shoulde play at any game, his horse nor armour.

That none should force any woman.

That none should robbe or take any *Indian* captiue without his speciall licence and counsellors.

That none should wadge or inlarie any *Indian* their friends: he also taxed yron worke and apparell, for cause of the excessive prices that they were there solde for.

The

### The exhortation made by Cortez to the Indians of *Tlaxcallan*.



The next day following, Cortes called before him all the Lordes, Captaynes, and principall persons of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexotzinco*, *Chololla*, *Chalco*, and of other townes, who were there presente at that time, saying as followeth. My Lordes and friends, you know the journey which I haue nowe in hande, to morrowe God willing I will departe to the warre and siege of *Mexico*, and enter into the land of youre enemies and mine: And the thing that now I do require, and also pray, is, that you remayne faithfull and constant in your promise made, as hitherto you haue done, and so I trust you will continue. And because I can not bring so sone my purpose to passe according to youre desire and mine, without the *Negantines* which are now a making, and to be placed in the lake of *Mexico*, therefore I praye you to fauoure these workemen whiche I leaue here, with suche loue and friendship, as heretofore you haue done, and to giue them all things necessary for their provision, and I do faithfully promise to take away the yoke of bondage, which the inhabitantes of *Culhua* haue layde vpon you, and also will obteyne of the Emperoure great libertie and priuiledges for you.

All the *Indians* shewed countenance of obedience, and the chiefe Gentlemen answered in few words, saying, we will not onely fulfill youre request, but also when your vessels are finished, we will bring them to *Mexico*, and we all in generall will goe with you, and truly serue you in your warres.

Ag. 16.

Holo

## How Cortez tooke Tezcucuo.



Cortez departed from *Tlaxcallan* with his  
 Souldiers in good order, whiche was a  
 goodly sight to beholde, for at that time he  
 had eyghtie thousand men in his host, and  
 the most of them armed after their man-  
 ner, which made a gallant shew: but Cortez for diuers cau-  
 ses would not haue them all with him, vntill the *Pergan-  
 tines* were finished, and *Mexico* besieged, fearing wante of  
 vittayle for so greate an armye: yet notwithstanding he  
 toke twentie thousand of them, besides the Carriers, and  
 that night came to *Texmoluca*, which standeth fere leagues  
 from *Tlaxcallan*, and is a Village apperteyning to *Hue-  
 xotenco*, where he was by the principall of the Towne wel-  
 receyued. The next day he journeyed foure leagues, into  
 the territtorie of *Mexico*, and there was lodged on the side  
 of a hill, where many had pitched with colde, had it not  
 bin for the store of wood which they found there. In the  
 morning he ascended vpon the top of this hill, and sente his  
 scout of foure footmen and foure horsemen to discover,  
 who found the way stopped with great trees newly cutte  
 downe, and placed crosswise in the way: but they thin-  
 king that yet forwarde it was not so, proceeded forthe as  
 well as they might, till as length the let with great huge  
 trees was such, that they could passe no further, and with  
 this newes were forced to returne, certifying Cortez that  
 the horsemen could not passe that way in any wise.  
 Cortez demanded of them, whether they hadde seen any  
 people, they answered no, whereupon he proceeded for-  
 worde with all the horsemen and a thousand footmen,  
 commaunding all the residue of his armye to followe  
 him with as muche speed as myght be, so that with  
 that

that company whiche he carried with him, he made  
 waye, taking away the trees that were cutte downe to  
 disturbe his passage: and in this order, in thys time pas-  
 sed his host, without any hurt or daunger, but with great  
 payne and trauell, for certaynely if the enimies had bin  
 there to defende that passage, oure menne hadde not pas-  
 sed, for it was a verie euill way, and the enimies also  
 thoughte the same to be sure with the trees whiche were  
 crossed the way, whereupon they were carelesse of that  
 place, and attended their comming in playne grounde:  
 for from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico* are three wayes, of the  
 whiche Cortez chose the worst, ymagining the thing that  
 afterwards fell out, or else some hadde aduised him howe  
 that way was cleere from the enimies. And being past  
 this crooked passage, they espyed the lake of *Mexico*, and  
 gaue vnto God moste hartie thanks for the same, and  
 there made a solemne vow and promise, not to returne,  
 vntill they had wonne *Mexico*, or lost their liues. They  
 abode there and rested themselves, till all the whole ar-  
 mye were come together, to descende downe into the  
 playne, for nowe they myghte descrye the fires and  
 beacons of theyr enimies in sundrye places, and all  
 those whiche hadde attended theyr comming by the  
 other two wayes, were now gathered together, thin-  
 kyng to sette vpon them betwixte certayne bridges,  
 where a greate company abode, expecting theyr com-  
 ming: but Cortez sente twenty horsemen, who made  
 way among them, and then followed the whole ar-  
 mye, who slew manye of them, without recey-  
 uing anye hurte. And in thys order they came to *Qua-  
 hutepac*, whiche is of the iurisdiction of *Tezcucuo*,  
 where they abode that nyght, and in that place  
 founde neyther manne nor woman: but not farre  
 off was pitched the Camp of the Indians of *Culhuacan*,  
 which

which myght be nere a hundred thousand men of warre, who were sent by the Seniors of *Mexico*, and *Texcoco*, to encounter our armye, in consideration whereof, *Cortes* kept good watch with tenne horsemen, and all his shouldiers were warned to be in readynesse at a call, if neede should happen.

The next day in the morning he departed from thence toward *Texcoco*, whiche standeth three leagues distant, and proceeding on their journey, foure principal persons, inhabitantes of *Texcoco*, mette with them, bearing a rod of golde, with a little flagge, in token of peace, saying, that *Coacnacoyotzin* their Lord had sent them to desire him not to make any spoyle in his Countrey, and likewise, to offer his friendship, praying also, that it might please him with his whole army to take his lodging in the Towne of *Texcoco*, where he should be well receyued. *Cortes* reioyced with this message, although he suspected that it was a sayned matter, but one of them he knew very well, whome he saluted, saying: My courting is not to offend any, but rather to do you good. I will also receyue and hold your Lord for a friende, with condition, that hee doe make vnto me restitution of the treasure whiche hee tooke from the and for the Spaniards, and three hundred *Tlaxcaltecas*, all the which were by his commaundement also slayne of late dayes. They answered that *Aytecama* caused them to be murdered, who had likewise taken the spoyle, and that the Citizens of *Mexico* were not culpable in that fact, and with this answer they returned.

*Cortes* went forward on his way, and came to *Quahutchan* and *Huaxtla*, which are suburbs of *Texcoco*, where he and all his host were plentifully provided of all things necessary, and thence to downe the *Abolies*. This done, hee entred into the Citie, where his lodging was prepared in a great house, sufficient for to accomodate all the Spaniards,

with

with many other the Indian friends. And bycause that at his first entrie, he sawe neyther women nor children, hee suspected some treason, and forthwith proclaimed, vpon payne of death, that none of his men should go out. The Spaniards began to triumph in their lodgings and chambers, placing every thing in good order. In the evening they went by into the *Zapies* and galleries, to beholde the Citie, which is as bigge as *Mexico*, and there they sawe the greates number of Citizens that fledde from thence with their stuffe, some towardes the mountaines, and others to the water side to take boate, a thing straunge, to see the great hast and stirre to provide for themselves, at the least ther were twentie thousand litle boates (called *Conoas*) occupied, in carying household stuffe and passengers. *Cortes* would fayne haue remedied it, but that night was so mygh at hand, that he coulde not. He would gladly also haue apprehended the Lord, but he was one of the first that fledde vnto *Mexico*. *Cortes* caused many of the Citizens, to be called before him, and hauing in his company a yong gentleman of a noble house in that countrey, who was also last christened, & had to name *Hernando*, *Cortes* being his godfather, who loued him well, sayde vnto the citizens, that this new Christian lord, *Don Hernando*, was come vnto *Nezahuapincintli* their louing Lord, wherfore he requested them to make him their king, considering that *Coacnacoyotzin*, was fled vnto the enemies, laying also before them his wicked fact in killing of *Cacuzahis* his own brother, only to put him from his inheritance & kingdome, through the enticement of *Quahutimocin*, a mortal enemy to the Spaniards. In this sort was *Don Hernando* elected king, and the same therof being blown abroad, many citizens repayed home againe to visite their new Prince, so that in short space the citie was as wel replenished with people, as it was before, and being

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also well used at the Spaniards hands, they serued them diligently in all thyngs that they were commaunded. And *Don Hernando* aboade euer after a faithfull friende vnto the Spaniards, and in short tyme learned the Spanishe tongue: and sone after came the inhabitants of *Quahutichan*, *Huaxtla* and *Xuntenco*, to submytte themselves, craving pardon, if in any thyng they had offended. *Cortez* pardoned them, and gaue them licence to departe home vnto their houses.

*Quahutimac*, *Coacnacoye* and other magistrates of *Culhua* sente to rale vppon those towne, for yeldyng themselves to the Christians, but they layde hold vpon the messengers, and brought them vnto *Cortez*, of whome he enformed himselfe of the state of *Mexico*, and sent them backe againe, requiring their Lords of peace and friendship: but it preynted not, for they were fully armed for the warre.

At this instante certaine friendes of *James Velasques* went by and downe the Campe, procuring secretly a mutenie among the souldiers, to haue them to returne to *Cuba*, and utterly to destroy *Cortez* his proceedings. This thing was not so secretly wrought, but that *Cortez* had knowledge, wherevppon he apprehended the doers thereof, and by their confessions the matter did plainly appeare, wher vpon he condemned to death one *Antonio de Villafania*, who was natural of *Samora*, and forthwith executed the sentence, wherwith the punishment and Mutinie was ended, and ceased.

The

The Spaniards vy which yvere

sacrificed in Tex-  
cuco.



Apply increased *Cortez* in strength and reputation, and many towne as wel of the partes of *Culhua* as others came vnto his friendship and obedience. Within two days that *Don Hernando* was made king, came certayne gentlemen of *Huaxtla* and *Quahutichan*, to certify vnto him, how al the power of the *Mexicans* was comming towarde them, and to knowe if it were his pleasure, that they should carry their wiues, chldren, and other goods into the Mountaines, or els to bryng them where he was, theyre feare was so great. *Cortez* made vnto the this answer, saying: be ye of good courage, and feare ye not. Also I pray you to comaunde your wiues & families to make no alteration, but rather quietly to abide in your houses. And concerning the enimies, I am glad of their comming, for ye shal see how I will deale with them. But the enimies wente not to *Huaxtla*, as it was thought: neuerthelesse *Cortez* hauing intelligence where they were, wente out to encounter them, with two pieces of Ordnance, twelue horsemen and two hundred Spaniards, with many Indians of *Tlaxcalla*. He fought with the enemy, and slew but few, for they fledde to the water. He burnt certaine towne where the *Mexicans* were wonte to succour themselves. The next day came the chiefe men of thre towne to craue pardon, and to beseech him not to destroy the, promising neuer to harbour nor succour any of *Culhua*.

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The

A good  
correction.

The *Mexicans* hearing what these townes men pretended, with greates p<sup>r</sup> made a foule correction among them, as dyd appeare by many of them, which came vnto Cortes with broken heads, desiring reuengement.

The inhabitants of *Chalco* sent also vnto him for succour, declaring that the *Mexicans* made greates spoyle among them. But Cortes being ready to send for his *Alegantines*, could not relieue them all, and especially w<sup>th</sup> *Spaniards*: wherefoze he remitted them to the helpe of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and vnto the of *Huexocinco*, *Chololla*, *Huacacholla* and other friends, promising that shortly he would come himselfe. But this answer pleased him not, yet for the present neede they required his letters to be w<sup>r</sup>itten vnto those townes. And being in this communication, there came messengers from *Tlaxcallan*, with newes, that the *Alegantines* were ready, and to knowe if he stood in neede of any succour, for of late, (quoth they) we haue seene many beacons, and fiers, which are greater tokens of warre, than heretofore hath bene seene.

There came at that time, a *Spaniard* also from *Vera Cruz*, with certaine newes, that there had arriued a ship, whiche had brought thirtie souldiers besides the mariners of the shippe, with eight horses, great store of powder, shotte, crossebowes, and *Harquebushes*. The present newes reioyced much our men, whereupon Cortes sente forthwith to *Tlaxcallan* for the *Alegantines*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with two hundred *Spaniards*, and fiftene horsemen, and commaunded that in their way they should burne and destroy the towne where the fourty fye *Spaniards*, and thre hundred *Tlaxcaltecas* were slayn, with fye horses moe, when Mexico was last besieged: and y<sup>e</sup> village is in y<sup>e</sup> iurisdiction of *Texcuco*, and bordereth vpon the terr<sup>it</sup>orie of *Tlaxcallan*, yea, and for that purpose he would gladly haue corrected and punished the dwellers of

of *Texcuco*, but time then permitted not y<sup>e</sup> same, although they had deserued moze punishment than the others. For why? in their towne they were sacrificed and eaten, yea the walles painted with their blood, shewing manerly perfect tokens, how it was *Spaniards* blood. After which off also the horses skinner & tanned the in the beere, and afterwards hung them vppe, with the horsehoers in their great temple, & next vnto them, the *Spaniards* garments, for a perpetual memory.

*Sandoval* went vnto that place with determinate ent<sup>e</sup> to follow his comission, & also befoze he came to y<sup>e</sup> place, he found w<sup>r</sup>itten in a house w<sup>ch</sup> a cole, these wordes: here in this house was a prisoner y<sup>e</sup> vnfortunate *John Iust*, who was a gentleman, and one of the fye horsemen that wer taken. But the people of that towne, being many, fledde when they saw the *Spaniards* approach neare vnto the. But *Sandoval* followed them, and slewe many of them: he toke also prisoners, manye women and children, who yelded themselves vnto his mercie, and their bodies for slanes. He seeing so little resistance, and beholding the pitiful mone of the wiues for their husbandes, and the children for their fathers, had compassiō on them, and would not destroye their towne, but rather caused the dwellers to come again, and pardoned them, with othe, that hereafter they should serue them truely, and be vnto them loyal friends. In this sorte was the death of the *Christians* reuenged, yet *Sandoval* asked them howe they slewe so manye *Christians* without resistance, marve (quoth they) we made an ambush in an euil and narrow way, ascending vp a hill, and there as they went vppe by one and one we spoyled them, for there, neyther horses noz other weapon could defend o<sup>r</sup> help the, so y<sup>e</sup> we toke them prisoners and sente them to *Texcuco*, where, as is befoze deblared, they were sacrificed in the reuengement

of the imprisonment of Calama.

Howe the Vergantines were brought frō  
Tlaxcall to Texcoco.

**N**owe when the enemies which murdered the Spaniards, were reduced and chastened, Sandonal proceeded forward towarde Tlaxcallan, and at the border of that prouince, he mette with the Vergantines whiche were broughte in peces, as tables, planches, and nayles, with all other furniture, the whiche eight thousand men carped vpon their backs.

There came also for their safeconduite twentie thousande men of warre, and a thousande Tamemex, who were the carriers of victuals, and seruantes. The Spanishe Carpenters sayde vnto Sandonal, that for as muche as they were nowe come into the countrey of enemies, it might please him to haue regarde ther vnto, for daungers that myght happen: he allowed wel theyr iudgement.

Nowe Chichimecatel, being a principal man and a valiant also, was captaine of a thousande men, & desired to haue the vanguard with the Tymber, and hauing had the same charge hither vnto, it should be an affrent for him, to be put from it, and gaue manye reasons in his behalfe. But notwithstanding his request, he was entreated to take the reuerge. And that Tutupil and Texcocal captaines, very principal gentlemen, should haue the vanguard, with ten thousand men. In the myddest were placed the Tamemex, and those that carryed the voyst, with all the apparell of the Vergantines. Before those two captaynes, went a hundred Spaniards, and eight

eight horsemen, and behind and last came Sandonal with all the residue, and seven horsemen. But now although Chichimecatel was offended, touching his firste charge, now much more because the Spaniards were not in his company, saying (quoth he) ye take me not for valiant, or else not faithfull. That matter being pacified, and euery thing in good order, they toke theyr way towarde Texcoco, with a maruylous noyse, crying, Christians, Christians, Tlaxcallan, Tlaxcallan, and Spanyshe.

On the fourth day they entred into Texcoco, in verie good order, with the sounde of drummes, shaple-shelles, and other like instrumentes of Musicke, and againste their entry into the Citie, they put on all their brauerie of clothes, and busches of feathers, whiche truly was a gallant sight: they were sixe houres, in entryng into the towne, keeping their array.

Cortez came forth to receyue them, and gaue greate thanks vnto the gentlemen, and all the company, and prouided them of good lodgings and entertaynement.

### Of the Docke or trench vvhich

was made to launch, the Vergantines.



Anye prouinces of India, came to submitte and offer their seruice vnto Cortes, some for feare of destruction, and others for the hatred whiche they bare to the Mexicans: So that nowe Cortes was strong both with Spaniards and Indians. Also the Spanishe Captaine of Segura, sent a letter to Cortez, the which letter he had receyued of another



another Spaniard, the effect therof was as foloweth. Noble gentlemen, diuerse times I haue witten vnto you, but as yet I neuer receiued answer, nor yet now doe I thinke otherwise, notwithstanding yee shall vnderstande, that the *Culhuacans* haue done much hurte in this countrey, but we remaine with victorie. This prouince desireth to see and knowe Captaine Cortez, for to render themselves vnto him, and nowe they stande in neede of our nation, wherfore it may please you to sende vnto vs thirtie Spaniardes.

Cortez answered the letter in such sort, that he then presently coulde not sende the thing desired, for that he was readye to the siege of *Mexico*: notwithstanding he gaue them great thanks, with hope shortly to see the. He that writte the former letter, was one of the Spaniardes that Cortez hadde sente to the prouince of *Chinanta*, a yere past, to enquire of the secretes of that place, and to seeke for golde and other commodities. And if it so happened, that the Lorde of that place made that Spaniarde a Captayne, agaynst the *Culhuacans* theyr enemyes, for *Mutezuma* made them warre beeyng farre from *Mexico*, bycause they had entrefayned the Spaniardes. But through the industrie of that Christian, the Lorde aboad allwayes with victorie, and hauing vnderstanding that some of his nation were in *Tepeacac*, he wrote so often as the letter declareth, but none of them came to their handes, but only this last letter: our men reioyced muche to heare that the Spaniardes were aliue, and also the Lorde of *Chinanta* to be their friende: likewise they marueyled much howe they had escaped, for at the time that they fledde from *Mexico*, all other Spaniardes that were abiding in the *Apries* and other Lordshippes, were slaine by the *Indians*.

Corte.

Cortez made his preparation for the siege of *Mexico* with all hast, and furnished him with scaling ladders, and other necessaryes, fitte for such a purpose. His *Vergantines* being nayled, and thoroughly ended, he made a steepe trench of halfe a league of length, twelue foote broad & more, and two fadome in depth. This worke was fiftie dayes a doying, although there were foure hundred thousand men daily working, truly a famous worke and worthy of memozy.

The *Vergantines* were calked with towne and cotton woll, and for want of tallow and oyle, they were (as some reporte,) driuen to take mans grease, not that they slewe men for that effect, but of those which were slayne in the warres. The *Indians* who were cruell and bloody butchers, vsing sacrifice, would in this sort open the dead body, and take out the grease. The *Vergantines* being lanched, Cortez mustered his men, and founde nine hundred Spaniardes, of the which were 86. Horsemen, and a hundred and eghtene with Crossebowes and Barchabushes, and all the residue had sundry weapons, as swords, daggers, Targets, Launces, and Halbertes. Also they had for armour, corselets, coates of mayle, and Jackes. They had moreover three great peces of cast yron, fiftene small peces of brasse, and tenne hundred waighte of powder, with store of shotte. All that ye haue hearde, was the prouision that Cortez had for the siege of *Mexico*, the strongest and greatest Citie in all *India* and newe world. In eache *Vergantine* he placed a pece of brasse. He proclaymed agayne all the institutions and ordinaunces of the warre, praying and commaunding that they might be well and faithfully obserued, and said, Weteth and my fellows, now do you see our vessels readye, yea and also you do remember howe troublesome a thyng it hath bin to bring them hither with the colde and sweate

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of our friendes, and one of the chiefeſt hopes that I haue ſhortly to winne *Mexico*, are theſe veſſels, for with them we will burne all their *Canoe*, or elſe we will ſo locke them vp, that they ſhall not help them, whereby we will annoy our enimie as muche that way, as our army ſhall do by land. I haue alſo a hundred thouſand men of warre my friendes to beſeige this Citie, who are (as you know) ſo valiantest men in all theſe parties. You haue alſo your vittailles prouided abundantly, and that which now importeſt, is, that you play the menne, as heretofore you haue done, and moſt humbly to pray vnto God for victorie, for that this warre is his.

### The order of the hoſt and army of

*Cortes for to beſeige Mexico.*



The nexte day following, *Cortes* ſente vnto the prouinces of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexotzinco*, *Cholulla*, *Chal*, and other *Townes*, warning the within terme dayes to come vnto *Tezcuco*, with their armour, weapon, and other neceſſaries, for the ſeige of *Mexico*. He certified them alſo, how the *Pergantines* were ready with all other furniture accordingly, and the *Spaniards* were very deſirous to loſe no time, wherefore they meante not to delay their pretence, farther than the day appointed.

The *Indians* hearing this newes, and bycauſe they would not come too late to the beginning of the aſſaulte, came incontinent, and entred into *Tezcuco* in good order of warre, aboue ſixtie thouſand men, gallantly trimmed after their uſe and cuſtome. *Cortes* friendly welcommed them, and prouided them lodgings accordingly.

On Whitſunday, all the *Spaniards* came into the felde, whereas *Cortes* made three chiefe Captaynes, among

among whome he deuided his whole army. Vnto *Pedro de Aluaro* the firſt Captayne, he appointed thirtie horſemen, and a hundred and ſeauentie ſotemen of the *Spaniards*, two peeces of ordnance, and thirtie thouſande *Indians*, commaunding him to campe in *Tlacopan*. Vnto *Criſtobal de Olid* the ſeconde Captayne, he gaue three and thirtie horſemen, and a hundred and eyghtene ſotemen of the *Spaniſh* nation, two peeces of ordnance, and thirtie thouſand *Indians*, and appointed him to pitch his camp in *Culhuacan*. To *Gonzalo de Sandoval* who was the thyrde Captayne, he gaue three and twenty horſemen, and ſixty ſotemen, two peeces of ordnance, and 40000 *Indians*, with commiſſion to choſe a place to pitch his Campe.

In euery *Pergantine* he planted a peece of ordnance, ſixte bargabuſhes, or croſſebowes, and 23 *Spaniards*, the moſt fitteſt for that purpoſe. He appointed alſo Captaynes for eache, and himſelfe for general, whereof ſome of the chiefeſt of his compaigne began to murmure that wente by lande, thinking that they had bin in greater danger, wherefore they required him to goe with the mayne battell, and not by water. *Cortes* little eſteemed their words, for although it is moze danger in the water than in the land, yet it did moze importe to haue greater care in the warres by water, than on the land, bycauſe his men had bin in the one, and not in the other.

On the tenth of May *Aluaro*, and *Criſtobal de Olid* departed, and went that night to a *Towne* called *Acolman*, where was betwene them greate diſcorde touching their lodgings, yea and if *Cortes* had not ſente to take by the matter, much miſchiefe had enſued. The nexte daye they lodged in *Xolotpec*, which was not inhabited. The thyrde daye they came vnto *Tlacopan*, whiche was alſo as all the *Townes* of the lake, wythout people, there they were lodged in the *Lords* houſe of the *Towne*.

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The

The *Tlaxcaltecas* began to besiege *Mexico* by the calley, and fought with their enemies, untill the night made them to cease.

On the thirteenth of May, *Cristoual de Olid* came to *Chapultepec*, and brake the conduites of sweete water, whereupon *Mexico* was destitute of the same, being the conduit that did prouide all the Citie. *Pedro de Aluaredo* with his company procured to amende all the broken places of the calley, that the horsemen might haue free passage, and hauing much to do in these affaires, he spent three dayes, and fighting with many enemies, some of his men were hurt, and many *Indian* friends slain. *Aluaredo* abode in *Tlacopan* with his armye, and *Cristoual de Olid* retired to *Culhuacan* with his men, according to the instruction receyued from *Cortes*, and fortified themselves in the Lordes houses of the Towne, and every daye skirmished with the enemies, and some went to the Townes nere at hande, and brought *Centli*, fruite, and other provision. In this businesse they occupied themselves a whole weeke.

### The Battaile and victory of the Vergantines against the Canoes.



The newe King *Quahutimoc* hauing intelligence how *Cortes* hadde launched his Vergantines and so mightie a power to besiege *Mexico*, entred into counsell with the chiefeest peeres of his Realme. Some were of opinion, and dyd prouoke hym to the warres, considering they greate multitude of people, and fortitude of the Citie.

Others were of opinion, who tended muche the common weale, that no Spanyards that shoulde happen to be

be taken prisoner shoulde be sacrificed, but rather to be preserued for conclusion of peace if neede shoulde so require. And finally some sayde, that they shoulde demaunde of their Goddes what was best to doe.

The King that inclined himselfe more to peace than to warre, sayde that he woulde remitte the matter to the iudgement of the Idoles, and that he woulde aduise them what answer shoulde be made vnto him, but: in harte he desired to come to some honest order and agreement with *Cortes*, fearing the thyng that after did ensue. But seying his Counsell and subiectes so determined to warre, he commaunded foure Spanyardes whiche he had prisoners in Aicage, to be sacrificed vnto the Goddes of warre, with a great number more of *Indians*.

He spake to the Diuell in the image of *Vitzilpucheli*, A Diuinish sentence. who answered him that he shoulde not feare the Spanyardes being but fewe, nor yet those whiche were comen to helpe them, for that they shoulde not long abide in the siege, commaunding him to goe forth and to encounter them without feare, for he woulde helpe them and kill his enemies. With this answer of the diuel, *Quahutimoc* commaunded forthwith to brake downe the bridges, watche the Citie, make bulwarkes, and to arme fve thousande boates, and sayde vnto the Spanyardes, that the Goddes woulde be pleased with the sacrifice of their bodies, the Snakes filled with their blood, and the Tigres relieved with their flesh, they sayde also to the *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, ah ye Cuckold knaues, slayers and traytors to your gods and King, will you not repent the wickednesse whiche ye haue committed agaynst your maisters, therefore shall you now die an euill death, for either you shall die with hunger, or else vpon the knife: and then wil we eat your flesh, and make thereof solimne a banquet as the like hath heretofore neuer bene scene, and in token therof hold

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take these armes and legges whiche we thioſe vnto you of your owne men, which we haue now sacrificed for the obtaining of victorie. And after these warres we will goe vnto your countrey and spoyle your Towne, & leaue no memozy of your bloud or generation. *The Mexical-secas* laughed at their madde talke, and sayd, that it should be better for them to yelde and submitte themselves to *Cortes* his mercy, and if not, yet it were moze honorable to fight than to bragge, willing them to come out into the field. And had them assuredly beleue, that the ende of all their knaucty was at hande: it was a world to heare and see the bragges and crakes on both sides. *Cortes* hearyng of all these matters, sent *Sandonal* to take *Iztacpalapan*, and he embarked himselfe to meete him at that place.

*Sandonal* combated the towne on the one side, and the townes menne and people with feare fledde vnto *Mexico*, on the other side by water: he burned the towne. *Cortes* came at y time to a strôg rocke lyke a tower, situated in the water, where many men of *Callua* were, who seying them appoche with their *Mergantines*, sette theyr beacons on fire, and thyeſe downe vpon them stones and shotte of theyr arrowes. *Cortes* wente ashore with a hundred and fiftie menne, and combatted the fozte, till at length he wanne the battlement, whiche was the *Indians* beste defence, and with muche adoe he came to the toppe, and there fought untill he had not leſte one alſue, ſayng women and chyldren. It was a sayze victorie, although fye and twentie Spaniards were hurte and wounded, yet the fozte was strong, and the ouerthrowe a great discouraging of the enimie.

At this instant were so many beacons and other fires made rounde aboute the lake and vpon the hilles, that all seemed a lighte fire. And also the *Mexicans* hearyng that the *Mergantynes* were coming, they came out in their boates,

boates, with fye hundred Gentlemen whiche came to see suche newe kinde of vessels, and to proue what they were, being a thyng of so greate a fame. *Cortes* embarked himselfe with the spoyle of the fozte, and commaunded his men to abide all together for the better resistance, and because the enimies should thinke that they feared, wherevpon they might without any god order gyue the onſette vpon the *Chyistians*, and so to fall suddenly into the snare. But it folloped, that when they came within shotte of the Spaniards ordinaunce: they stayed abyding moze company, but in shozte space there came so many Canoes, that it seemed a wonder to beholde: They made suche a terrible noyse with theyr voyces, drummes, snayle shelles, and other like instruments of warre, that they could not heare one another, with such great crakes and bragges, as they had done in tyme past.

And being bothe parties in a readinesse to fight, there happened suche a pouerwinde to the *Mergantines* which came from the shore, that it seemed meruellous. *Cortes* the praying God, commaunded al his Captaines to giue the onſet altogether, & not to ceasse untill the enimies should be dyuen to retire into *Mexico*, for that it was the pleasure of God to sende vnto them that prosperous winde in token of victorie. This talke ended, they beganne to sette vpon the enimy, who seying the *Mergantines* come with such lucky winde, yea & such a sight as the like vnto them had not bene ſene, they began to flie with suche greate haste, that they spoiled, brake, and sunke many of them, and suche as stode to defende themselves were slayne, so that this battayle was ſone ended. They pursued them two leagues, untill they had locked them by in the water creates of *Mexico*, and toke many Lordes and Gentlemen prisoners. And the key of al these warres consisted in this victorie, for our me remained for Lords of the

the whole lake, and the enimie with great feare and losse: they had not bene so soone spoyled, but that there were so many of them, who disturbed one an other. But when *Aluaro*, and *Cristoual de Olid* saw the fortunate successe of *Cortes* by water, they entered the calley with their army, and tooke certaine brydges and bulwarkes, and bzaue the *Indians* from them, with all their force and strength: But with the helpe of the *Wergantines* which came vnto them, the *Indians* were bzyuen to runne a whole league vpon the calley, and where they founde the calley broken, they procured to leape ouer, and so fel into the middlest.

*Cortes* proceeded forward, and finding no *Canoes*, he landed vpon the calley that cometh from *Iztacpalapan*, with thirtie men, and combatted two towers of idoles which were walled with wall of lyme and stone: it was the same place where *Mutezuma* receyued *Cortes*. He wan those towers in shorthe time, although they were defended with all possibilitie: he vnshipped thre peces of ordinaunce to scoure the calley, which was full of enimies: at the first shotte he did great hurte among thē, and beyng the night at hande, they ceased on bothe sides for that day. And although *Cortes* had determined otherwise with his *Captaynes*, yet he abode there that night, and sente to the campe of *Gonsalo de Sandoual* for powder and fittie mē, with halfe the company of *Indians* of *Culhuacan*.

### How Cortez besieged Mexico.



The night of *Cortes* his abiding there, was perillous, for he had not aboue a hundred men in his company, and aboute midnight set vpon him many *Mexicans* both by water and lande, although they accustomed not to fight in the night, but the *Wergantines*

shines made them sone to retire.

In the morning came vnto *Cortes* from *Cristoual de Olid*, eight horsemen, and foure score footemen. The *Mexicans* combatted the towers, where *Cortes* was lodged, who incontinent came forth & bzaue them along the calley, vntill he had wonne an other brydge and a bulwarke, and made a great spoyle among them, with the ordinaunce & horsemen, pursuyng them to the vtmoste houses of the Cittie: and bycause many of the *Canoes* which were on the other side of the calley galled *Cortes* and his menne, he bzaue downe so muche of the calley, that he mighte well passe some of his *Wergantines* to the other side, the which with few encounters shutte vp the *Canoes* on that side, within the succour of *Mexico*: and in this wise he remayned Lord ouer bothe the lakes.

The next day *Sandoual* departed from *Iztacpalapan* toward *Culhuacan*, and in his way he toke and spoyled a little Cittie that standeth in the lake, bycause they came out to resist him. *Cortes* sente vnto him two *Wergantines* to passe his men where the calley was broken. *Sandoual* left his company with *Cristoual de Olid*, and wet to *Cortes* with tenne horsemen, and when he came he found him in fight with the enimies, and he alighting from his horse, an *Indian* perced him through the side with a dart. Many *Spaniards* were hurte that day, but theyr griefe was well reuenged, for from that day forward the *Indians* courage was muche abated. With the paynes, labour and victorie already obtayned, *Cortes* might now at ease pitche his campe at his owne pleasure where he woulde, and also prouide his army of victuals: five dayes he ceased not skirmishing, and the *Wergantines* likewise founde out channels that they mighte goe rounde aboute the Cittie, yea and wente spoyling and burning many houses within the Suburbes.

Mexico was besieged in foure places, although at the first they determined but thre. Cortes was placed betwixt the two towers of the calley: Pedro de Aluarado in Tlacopan: Cristofal de Olid in Culhuacan: Gonfalo de Sandomal in Xaltoca: for they had aduise that the same way they would flee out of the Citie, seying themselves in any daunger. It would not haue grieved Cortes to haue left a passage for the enemy, but only bycause they should not profite themselves vpon the lande, and prouide the Cittie that way of armour & victuall, yea, he also thought to preuaile against his enemies better vpon the lande than vpon the water. And againe according to the olde prouerbe, When thine enemy sicth, make him a bridge of siluer.

### The first skirmishe vyithin the cittie of Mexico.



Cortes pretended to enter the Cittie, and to gette what he could, & also to see what stomacke the enemy had: he sent to aduise his capitaines, that eche of them should do the like, requiring them to sende vnto him some of their horsemen and footmen. He gaue speciall commaundement to Cristofal de Olid to haue regard to the keeping of his calley, and to forsee that the inhabitants of Xochmilco, Culhuacan, Texcualapan, Kitzilapathli, Mexicalcingo, Cuernanac, & other cities therabouts come not that way behinde them and bulwarks. He commaunded that the Mergantines should goe along the calley on both sides, of any neede shoulde happen. Cortes early in the morning came out of his campe with 200. Spaniards and 80000. Indian friends: they had gone but a small space, when they met with their enemies well armed, keeping the gaffe where the calley was broke, which broken place mought be a speares length, and as much in depth.

depth. They fought with them, who for a great space defended themselves behinde a bulwarke, but in fine he wanne the passage, and followed them vnto the entrance of the citie, where was a Tower, and at the foote thereof a bridge drawen, where a good streame of water passed. This place was very strong to combat, yea and fearful to behold the passage where the draw bridge was. They ceased not shotting of arrowes and hurlyng of stones, so that our men coulde not come neare, vntill the Mergantines came, and by meanes of them they wanne that fort with lesser paynes than they imagined: for without the Mergantines it had not bene possible to haue entered the Cittie.

The enemies being now fled from that holde, our men alanded there, with the Indian friends, who incontinent dammed vp the broken place with stones and earth. The Spaniards of the vanguard, toke another bulwarke, which was planted in the largest and sayest streate of the Cittie, and pursued the enemy to another draw bridge, which remayned, but with one poste of beame, vpon the which many of the Indians passed over, and then toke a beame awaye and abode to defende the place: but when our men approached & sawe how the matter went, Cortes commaunded two pieces of Ordnance to be brought, with the whiche, and with their Harquebushes, they did great hurt among the Mexicans, who began to fainte, and lose their courage, the which being vnderstode, certayne Spaniards swa ouer where the draw bridge was, w their weapons in their mouthes. But when the enemy sawe them passe over, they began, as well from that place as from the house toppes, zottes and bulwarks, whiche they had defended for the space of two houres, to sic. Cortes and his whole army being passed over, he commaunded to damme vp that broken place of the drawe bypge,

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With



with earth, rubbishe and stones, and procedyng forwarde they came to an other bridge whiche had no bulwarke, but was neare one of the chiefest places of the citie, and there placed a peece of ordinaunce wherewith they dyd great hurte, and seying them now past all the bridges, they determined to enter into the harte of the Citie. When the *Mexicans* perceyued their determination, they beganne to prouide euery one for himselfe, for some fledde one way and some another, but the moste wente to the great temple of Idols. The Spanyardes and theyr friends pursued after them, and among the throng gotte into the Temple, where they slewe many, and at length they wente vp into the high tower, and there threwe downe the idols, among whome they made a great spoyle.

*Quahutimoc* beganne to reprobende his men for their cowardie and flight, who gathered themselues together, and considering theyr oversight, and that there were no horses, began a freche to sette vpon the Spanyardes, and with force and strength dyaue them out of all the circuite of the Temple, and made them truste to their fate. But when *Cortes* sawe his menne come flying, he caused them to returne and to shewe face vnto the enemy, declaryng vnto them how shamefull a thyng it was to flie: But seeing the strength and multitude of their enemies, they had no other remedie but onely to retire to the greates market place, yea & from thence also they were expelled, and lost a peece of their ordinaunce. But beyng now in this extremitie, there came thre horsemen who played the valiant men and made way through the troupe of enemies, who at the sight of the horses began to flie, and our men to follow with such harte and courage, that in short tyme they won the great temple agayne: then came other fire horsemen who loyned with the other thre, and lay in ambuscade, where they flew. The day being now farre

farre spent, and the nighte at hande, *Cortes* commaunded his army to retire, and they obeying his commandemēt, hadoe not so soone turned their backs, but an infinite number of enemies were at their heeles, who if it hadde not bin for the Horsemen, had slayne many Spanyardes, for they came vpon them like rauening dogges without any feare, yet with the succoure of the Horsemen, the enemy was putte agayne to flighte, and our men burned many houses, to auoyde at their next comming the daunger of stones whiche were thowen from their toppes. The other Captaynes, who were *Sandoual* and *Aluaro*, fought baliantly on the other side of the Citie.

### The great hurt and dammage in the houses of Mexico with fire.



In this meane while, *Don Hernando* of *Tezcuco*, wente throughout his Lordship, to allure his vassall to the seruice and friendship of *Cortes*, according to his former promise: and whether it were seying the Spanyards prosperitie in the siege of Mexico, or otherwise, he broughte almost the whole province of *Culhuacan*, whiche is vnder the gouernemente of *Tezcuco*, with fire or seauen of his owne brethren, for more he could not, although he had more than a hundred brethren, as hereafter shall be declared. One of them named *Iztlizuchilb* being a baliant yong man, of the age of foure and twenty yeares, he appoynted generall Captayne ouer fiftie thousande men of warre, well armed and trunimed according to their fashion. *Cortes* dyd friendly recepie and welcome them, giuing them greate thanks for their ayde and good willes. Of these new come men, he toke into his owne host thirtie thousande,



and deuised the residue equally among the other Captaynes.

This was a sorrowfull newes to the *Mexicans*, to heare of the succoure which *Don Hernando* hadde sente to serue *Cortes*, and with-holden the same from them, yea and also among them were come kinsmen, brethren, and fathers to many of them which were in *Mexico* in the seruice of *Quahuitimoc*.

Two dayes after that these menne were come, there came also men of *Xochmilco*, and certayne husbandmen of the *Poutaines*, who spake the *Oromith* speech, beseeching *Cortes* to pardon their long tarrying, offering also both men and vittayles for the siege. *Cortes* was pleased with their coming and gentle offer, for they being his friends, he was assured of them of *Culhuacan*, and sayd vnto them, within these thre dayes (God willing) I wil combate the Citie, therefore againste that time I praye you prepare your selues accordingly, and therein shall I knowe whether you are my friendes or no: and with this aunswere they departed, promising to fulfill his request, as they did in deede. This done, he sente thre *Vergantines* to *Sandonal*, and other thre to *Aluaro*, for to disturbe any succoure that mighte come from the land to the Citie, and likewise to defende and ayde the Spanyardes at all times, when they would land vpon the calsey, to combate the Citie, for he well vnderstode howe profitable those vessels would be nere vnto the brydges.

The Captaynes of the *Vergantines* ceased not night and day to runne the coast and Townes of the lake, where they tooke manye boates from the enimies, laden with men and victuall, and permitted none to come into the Citie, nor yet any to come out.

The daye appointed to the enimies for the combate, *Cortes* made his prayers vnto God, & then enformed each Captayne

Captayne what he should do, and came forth with twentie hoysmen, thre hundred Spanyardes, and a great number of *Indians*, with their peeces of Ordnance, and where in thre or foure dayes before they had not skirmished, time serued the *Mexicans* at will to open all those places which were dammed vp before, and also to bulde better bulwarkes than those which were throwen downe, attending with that horrible noyse accustomed. But when they sawe the *Vergantines* on eache side, they for ioy was turned into sorrowe, and beganne to faunte, the whiche our men vnderstood well, and therewith alanded themselves vpon the calsey, and wanne the bulwarke and the brydge. Our army proceeding forward, set vpon the enimies, vntill they came to another brydge, the whiche was likewise wonne in shorte time, and this pursued from brydge to brydge, alwayes fighting, vntill they had diuened them from the Calsey and strêtes.

*Cortes* for his part lost no time, for he with tenne thousande *Indians* laboured to damme vp againe the fluscs and broken places of the brydges, making the way plaine both for hoysmen and footemen: it was so much to doe, that all those ten thousand *Indians* were occupied therein from the morning vntill the euening.

The other Spanyardes and *Indian* friends skirmished continually, and slew many of their enimies. Likewise the hoysmen so scoured the strêtes, that the enimies were forced to locke them vp in their houses & Temples. It was a notable thing to see how our *Indians* played the menne that daye againste the Citizens: sometimes they would challenge them the fildes: other times they would conuite them to supper, and shewe vnto them legges, armes, and other peeces of mans flesh, saying behold your owne flesh which shal serue for our supper and breakfast, and to morrow we wil come for more, therefore be caref,

you are valiant fellows, yet it were better for you to dye fighting than with hunger. And after all this speech, euery one of them called vpon the name of his owne Towne with a loude voyce, setting fire vpon their houses. The *Mexicans* were replenished with sorrow, to see themselves so afflicted with Spanyardes, but yet they sorrow was the greater, to heare their owne bassals so ralle againste them, saying and crying at their owne dozes, victoꝝ, victoꝝ, *Tlaxcallan*, *Chalcho*, *Tezcuco*, *Xochimilco*, and other Townes: the eating of their fleshe græued them not, for they did the like.

Cortes seeing the *Mexicans* so stout and hard harted, with full determination eyther to defend themselves or else to dye, therevpon he bethought himselfe vpon two things, the one was, that he shoulde not obteyne the treasure whiche he had sene in the time of *Mot. Zuma*: the other was, that they gaue him occasion totally to destroy the Citie. Both these things græued him much, but especially the destruction of the citie. He ymagined with himselfe what he mighte doe, to bring them to acknowledge their error, and the hurt that mighte fall vpon them, and for these considerations he pluckt downe their Towers, and brake their idoles. He burned also the greate house wherein he was lodged before, and the house of foule which was nere at hand. There was not one Spanyard who had sene that magnificall building before, but lamented sore the sight: but to agréue the Citizens, it was commaunded to be burned. There was neuer *Mexican*, that thought any humane force, how much lesse so fewe Spanyards, shoulde haue entred into *Mexico* in despite of them all, and to sette fire vpon their principallest edifices within the Citie. While this house was a burning, Cortes gathered his men, and retired to his Campe. The *Mexicans* would fayne haue remedied the fire, but it was too

late, and seeing our men retire, they followed with their noyse accustomed, and slew some of our men, who were laden with the spoyle, and came behinde the reste. The horsemen relieued our men, and caused the enemy to retire, in such wise, that before night all our men were in safetie and the enemies in their houses, the one sorte full of sorrowe, and the others wearied with fighte and trauel. The slaughter was great that day, but the burning, and spoyle of houses was greater, for besides those whiche wee haue spoken of, the *Uergantines* did the like where they wente, and the other Captaines also were not idle where they were appointed.

### Things that happened to Pedro de

*Aluaredo* through his bolde attempt.



*Pedro de Aluaredo*, would passe his army to y<sup>e</sup> market place of *Tlaulco*, for he take much payn & stode in perill in sustenting y<sup>e</sup> bridges which he had gotten, hauing his sorte almost a league fro thence. And again, he being a man of a haughtie stomacke, thinking as wel to get honor as his general, and likewise being procured by his company, who sayde, that it were a shame for them if Cortes should winne that market place, being more nearer vnto them, than vnto him: wherevpon he determined to winne those bridges which as yet were vntowne, and to place himselfe in the market place. He proceeded with all his army untill they came to another broke bridge, which was sixtie paces of length, and two

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fadome depe, the whiche with the helpe of the Mergantines, he wan in short space, and gaue order to certaine of his men to damme it vppre substantially, and he himselfe pursued his enimies, with fittie Spaniards. But when the Citizens sawe so few in number, and al sower men, (for the horses coude not passe the fluce so soone,) they came vpon them so sodainely & fiercely, that they made our men to turne their backs, and trust to theyr legges, yea and our men fel into the water, they knewe not which way. They slew many of our *Indians*, and four Spaniards, who forthwith they sacrificed, and ate their fleshe in the open sight of al the army.

*Aluaro* saw his owne folly, in not beleauing *Cortes*, who had alwayes forewarned him, not to procede forward, vntil he had made the way sure behinde him: but *Aluaro* his counsellors payde their counsel with life *Cortes* sorrowed for the same, for the like had happened vnto him, if he had giuen credite to their counsel. But as a prudent captain, he considered the matter better, for euery house was then an *Ilande*, the calley broken in many places, and the toppes of house toppes beset with stones, for these and such like places vsed *Quahutimoc*. *Cortes* went to see where *Aluaro* had pitched his campe, and also to rebuke him for that which was past, and to aduise him what he shold do: But when he came and found him so farre within the libertie of the Citie, and the dangerous places which hadde passed, he vnd highly comend his valiaunt and good seruice: he also communed with him of manie things concerning the siege, and then returned to his owne campe.

The

## The tryumph and sacrifice vvhich the

*Mexicans* made for their victorie.



*Cortes* delayed the time to pitch his campe in the market place of *Mexico*, although daily his menn entrede and skirmished with in the Citie, for the causes before alleaged, and likewise to see if *Quahutimoc* would yield himself. And also the entrie could not be but very dangerous, for the great multitude of enimies that filled by the streates.

Al his company Spaniards ioyfully, with the kings Treasurer, seeing the determination of *Cortes*, and the hurt already receyued, besought and also required him to passe his campe vnto the market place: who answered them, that they had spoken like valiaunt men, but as yet (quoth he) it is not time conuenient, & we oughte to consider better of the matter: for why? the enimies are fully determined to ende their liues in defence of that place. But his men replied so much, that hee was compelled to graunte to theyr requeste, and proclaimed the entraunce for the nexte daye following. Hee wrote also in his letters to *Gonsalo de Sandoval*, & to *Pedro de Aluaro*, the instructions of the things that they shoulde doe, whiche was in effect, to *Sandoval*, that hee shoulde remove his campe wyth all his sardage, as though he woulde retire and flye, and that vpon the calley he shoulde haue tenne horsemen in ambusc, behinde certaine houses to the intent that when the Citizens shoulde espie the fle, and would pursue after, the to passe betwixt them and home with the said horsemen, &

Ab. 15.

after

after the hurt done among them, in this sort, that then he with al his army shoulde come where *Pedro de Alvarado* aboade, with other tenne horsemen, a hundred footemen, and the *Saue* of *Mergantines*, and leauing with hym his men, should then take thre of the *Mergantines*, and to procure to winne that broken bidge, where *Alvarado* of late receiued the soyle: and if he fortun'd to wyne that place, that then he should damme it vp, and make it sure, befoze he passed anye further: and the like order he gaue vnto him soz al other broken places that he should passe.

Vnto *Alvarado* he gaue commission, that he shoulde passe as farre into the Citie as he myght possible, requyring him also to send vnto him eightie *Spaniards*. He also appointed the other seauen *Mergantines*, to passe into both y lakes, with thre thousand *Canoas*. He deuided likewise all his army into thre companies, because they had thre ways to enter into the citie. By the one of these wayes oz *Streates*, entred the *Treasurer* and *Auditor*, with seauentye *Spaniards*, twentie thousande *Indians*, eight horsemen, twelue labourers with pickeaxes and shouels, and many other ydle felowes, to cary earth and stones, and to fill vp the broken places, and to make the way plaine.

The secende *Streate* he commended to *George de Alvarado* and *Andres de Tapia*, with eightie *Spaniards*, tenne thousande *Indians*, two pieces of Ordnance, and eight horsemen. *Cortes* himselte toke the thirde way, with a great number of friends, and a hundred *Spaniards* footemen, of the whiche were twentye fve with *Crossebowes* and *Harquebushes*, and commaunded his horsemen which were eight in number, to abide there behinde, and not to solow after, vntil he shold sende soz them. In this order, and al at one instant, they entred the Citie, show-

ing

ing the hearts of valiaunt men, greatly annoyng the enemy, and wan many bidges, but when they came neare vnto y towne house called *Tranquizili*, there gathered together such a number of the *Indian* friends, who befoze they eyes scaled, entred, and robbed their houses, that they thought assuredly, that y same day the citie had bin wonne. *Cortes* commaunded that they should procede no further, saying, that they had done sufficientlye soz that day, soz also he feared afterclappes. He likewise demanded whether all the broken bidges were made sure, in the whych (quoth he) consisteth the peril and victorie. But those that went with the *Treasurer*, following victorie and spoyle, had left a bidge not well dammed vp, but beere hollowe and false, the whiche was of twelue paces broad, and two fadom in depth. When *Cortes* was aduertised hereof, he went thither to remedy the same, but he was no soner come, when he saue his men fleeing, and leaping into the water, with feare of the cruel enemies, which followed, who leapt after them into the water, to kill them. There came also along the calley manye *Indian* boates of enemies, who toke many of y *Indian* friends and *Spaniards* aliue. When *Cortes* and other fiftene persons, which were with him, serued soz no other purpose but to helpe out of the water those that were fallen, some came wounded, and others halfe drownded, and without armour: yea and the multitude of enemies so beset *Cortes*, and his fiftene companions, who wer helping their me, and so occupied in the same, that they had no regarde to their owne peril. Whereupon certaine *Mexicans* layd hand vpon *Cortes*, who truly they had carried away if it had not bin soz one *Francisco de Olea* his seruāt, who cut off at one blowe the armes of them that had hold of him, and he by the enemies was immediately slaine, so that he died to saue his maisters life. When came *Antonio de Quinonez*

Ab. liij.

Captaine

A kinde  
harted cap-  
taine.

captaine of the guard, who caught *Cortes* by the arme, & by force pluckt him out of the throng of enemies, with whom valiantly he fought. But the with the same that *Cortes* was prisoner, came many Spaniards, among whom was one horseman, who made some roome, but in short space they thrust him through the throte with a lance, and made him to retire. The fight ceased a little, & *Cortes* had a horse brought vnto him, on the which he lightly mounted, and gathering his men together, came to the streete of *Tlacopan*, whiche was large and faire. There died *Guzman* his Chamberlayne, giving a horse vnto his maister, whose death was much lamented among them all, for he was a man valiant, honest, & welbeloued. There fel also into the water two horses, the one was saved, but the other was killed by the *Indians*. As the Treasurer and his company were Combatting a bulwarke, the enemies threw out of a window three Spaniards heads vnto them, saying, the like they would do with their heads, if they went not from thence the sooner. They seeing this sight, and likewise considered the great hurte and spoyle made among them, began to retire by little and little.

The Mexican Priestes went by into the Towres of *Tlatelulco*, and made their fires in chafing dishes, and put therewith the sweete gumme of *Copalli* in token of victorie, and forthwith stripped fiftie Spaniards captiues as naked as they were borne, and with their fine rasors opened them in the backes, and pluckt out their hartes for an offering to the Idols, and sprinkled their blood in the ayre. Our men seeing before their eyes the doleful sight, would faine haue gone to reuenge the cruel custome. But as time then required they had ynough to doe, to put themselves in sauetie through the great troupe of *Indians* which came vpon them, who now feared neither

horse

horse nor sword. This day as ye haue heard, were fiftie Spaniards sacrificed, and *Cortes* wounded in one of his legges, and thirtie more of his men: they loste a piece of Amoinance, and foure horses. Also that day was slayne above two thousand *Indian* friends, and many *Canoes* lost and the *Mergantines* in great daunger, and the captaine and maister of one of them were wounded. Whereof the captaine died within eight dayes, the same day were also slaine foure of *Aluado* his men, that daye was an unfortunate or dismal day, and the nyght heauy, sozrowfull and replenished with lamentable grieffe among the Spaniards and their friendes. On the other side, the *Mexicans* triumphed with ioy, and made great bonefires, blew their hornes, stroke vp their drummes, daunced, banqueted, and dranke themselves drunk: they also opened their streets and bridges, as they were before, and placed their scout and watch about the Citie. And as soone as it was day, the king *Quehntimoc*, sent two Christians heads, and two horse heads into al the comarcanes there aboute, to signifye their victorie and to require them to forsake the Christians friendship, promising in short space to make the like ende of all those that remayned, and deliuer the countrey from warre, these things encouraged some provinces to take armour against *Cortes* being his allied friendes, as *Malinalco* and *Cuixco*. This newes was soone blowne abroad into many provinces, wherevpon our men feared rebellion among their new friends, yea and mutinie in their owne campe, but it pleased god that it fel out otherwise. The next day *Cortes* came out againe to fight, to shewe face to the enemies, but he turned againe from the first bridge, without doing any great act.

the

The determination of Cortez to de-  
stroy the citie of Mexico.



**C**hichimecatl, a noble man of Tlaxcallan, (who hadde brought the Timber of y Mercantines, fro whence it was wrought, and was placed in the companye of Alvarado at the beginning of the siege of Mexico,) seeing that the Spaniards fought not as they were wont to do, he alone with y men of his owne countrey, went forth to combat the Citie, being a thing which twofore he had not attempted, gave assault against those which defended a certain bridge, and with great noyse cryed and named his Citie and lynage, and in short space wanne the bridge, where he lesse foure hundred archers, and followed after the enimie, who of industrie fledde, thinking to take him at his returne, and at length the enemy returned vpon him, where they made a fayre skirmishe, for the fight was equall. There were many hurt and slaine on both sides, so that with the dead carcases they supped at will. But they thoughte to overthrow him at the bridge, not knowing of y foure hundred archers which were there to attend Chichimecatls coming, by meanes of whome, he passed at pleasure, to the greate griefe of the Mexicans, yea and remayned not a little amazed to see the valor and bolde attempte of the Tlaxcaltecas.

The

The Spaniards likewise highly commended the fact, for where our men combated not as they were wont to do, the Mexicans imagined that the cause was cowardise, infirmities, or want of vittayles: whereupon one daye at the sunne rising, they set vpon Alvarado his Camp, whiche being espyed by the watch, they began to crye arme, arme, who came forth as well footemen as horsemen, and put them to flight, at whiche retire many of the Mexicans were drowned, and others sore hurt and wounded. Then said the Mexicans, that they desired to talke with Cortez, who came vnto a brasse bridge to knowe what they would haue, vnto whome sometime they sayd, that peace was their request, and other times they demanded truce, but finally required that the Spaniards shoulde departe from that Countrey. All this policie was but to seele what strength and courage our menne had, and to haue truce for a certayne time, for to prouide them of such necessities as they wanted, for their determinate purpose was, to dye in the defence of their countrey and religion. Cortez answered, that truce was not conueniente for eyther partie, but peace was laudable at al times, the whiche for his parte, although he hadde besieged the Citie, shoulde not be denyed: therfore he willed them to wey his plentiful estate of vittayles, and their owne neede and necessity of the same. They being in this communication with their interpreters, appeared an auient olde man on the toppe of the Bultuarke, who in the sighte of them all, pluckt bread out of his satchell peece by peece, and began to eate, giuing them to vnderstand, that they stood in no neede of vittayles, and so made an ende of theyr talke.

The siege of this Citie seemed a long time to Cortez, for in nere fiftie dayes that he had begun the same, yet could not he bring his desire to passe, yea and much mar-  
r, uelled,

uelled that the enemies coulde endure so long a season with dayly skirmishing, and also how they refused peace and concord, knowing how many thousands of them had bin slayne, and ended their miserable liues with hunger.

Yet once agayne he sente this last message vnto them, that if they woulde not yelde themselves, then he ha-ving them enuironed by land and water, woulde sea the all, and not permitte any kinde of victuall to come vnto them, so that they extremitie shoulde be so greate, that they should eat one another: their aunswere was, that firste the Spanyardes shoulde tast of the same cuppe, so that threatening increased their courages, and occupied themselves in carrying stones to the market place, and many other streets, to stoppe the way against the Horses and their maisters.

Cortes, although it grieved him to destroy totally so beautifull a Citie, yet he determined to bring all the houses of the streets that he should winne to be equall with the ground, and to stoppe with them the Channells of water. He counised the matter with his Captaynes, who liked well of his intente, although it was a troublesome thing. He also aduertised the Gentlemen Indians bys friends of his determination, who highly commended his deuice.

Cortes seeing the towardnesse of all his armye, he called and prepared all his labourers, with their pikeaxes and shouels, so that in these affaires, and in setting bys men in good order, he spent foure dayes, and then he begā to cobate the streete, which goeth directly to the market place, then fainedly the Citizens desired peace. Cortes stayed, and asked for their King: they answered, that they had sent for him, whereupon Cortes taried an houre, and then they began to reuile him, and to throwe stones, and shot at him. The Spanyards seeing this, gaue the onset,

and

and wanne a forte, and came into the chiefe place of the Citie. They cleansed the streets of the stones whiche they had laide to disturbe their passage, and stopped so by the water streete in that place, in suche wise, that neuer after it was opened againe, and threw downe all the houses, making the entrance into the Citie an open playne high way, and then retired to their camp. Also sixe dayes arowe they did the like, without receyuing any hurt, saving the last day two horses were hurt.

The nexte day Cortes laide an ambush with fiftie horsemen, and sent before him the Mergantines, but hee himselfe with thirtie horsemen, abode in certaine great houses in the Market place. They foughte that day in many places of the Citie, and at the retire, one shot of a hand-gun, whiche was the token that those which lay in ambushe should come forth. The enemies folowed our men, that seemed to flic with maruellous greate courage. But they were not so soon passed the snare, when Cortes came forth with his thirtie horsemen, saying, vpon them, vpon them: By this onely meane were slaine aboue fife hundred *Mexicans*, besides the prisoners.

Our Indian friends had a good supper that nyght with mans fleshe, whiche as yet they would not be perswaded to leaue. Certaine Spanyards went vpp into a Tower of Idols, and there opened a sepulchre, where they found five hundred Castlins in golde: With this ouerthrowe the *Mexicans* remayned in suche feare, that all their threatnings and triumphes were turned into mourning: and euer after whē they saw our men retire, they would not folow them, fearing the like danger, so that this was a meane, the sooner to win *Mexico*.

¶ 4.

The



## The hunger and infirmities which the

*Mexicans suffered with great courage.*

**L**ike poore soules who were bereft with hunger, came in the night season out of the citie vnto Cortes his Camp, who certified, how the Citizens were in great necessitie, and so manie dead with hunger and sicknesse, that there were heapes of dead bodies in the houses, only to keepe close their extreame miserie: and said also, that in the night season manie came out to fische betwene the houses with feare of the *Vergantines*, and others came out to seeke for wodde, hearbes, and rootes to eate.

Cortes hearing these newes, determined to knowe the troth thereof, so that the nexte night he commanded the *Vergantines* to goe round about the Citie, and he himselfe with fiftene Horsemen, a hundred footemen, and manie Indian friends, placed themselves betwixte certaine houses, with order to his espies, to aduertise him what they shoulde see. It was no sooner day, but manie poore folke came out to seeke for fode, and when Cortes had intelligence thereof, he made a greate slaughter among them, whereas at that time of vnarmed men, women, and children, were slayne to the number of eyght hundred: and the *Vergantines* on their side made another spoyle. The pitifull noyse being heard into the Citie, the Citizens were astonied, and knew not what to doe, fearing the like ambushes that they had scene and fealt the day before, & also wondered, that at such an houre not accustomed, the Spaniards were so nigh. The next day following, beinge S. James his euen, Cortes entred againe into the Citie, according as he had done before, and wanne the streete of *Tlacopan*, where he burned the riche and faire houses

of

A cruell  
fact of  
Cortez.

of king *Quahutimoc*, whiche were motted round aboute: so that nowe of foure partes of the citie, thre partes were wonne, and the Spaniards might safely passe from Cortes his campe, to the campe of *Alvarado*, by reason that all the houses were burned, and beaten downe playne with the grounde.

But yet the poore *Mexicans* would say to the Indians of *Tlaxcallan*, goe to, go to, make hast, burne and destroy these houses, for time will come that ye shall buyde them againe at your owne coste. For if we haue victorie then shall ye buyde them for vs, and if we be ouercome then shall ye buyde them for these straungers.

An ex-  
treme pe-  
nurie.

Within foure dayes after, Cortes entred the citie againe, and also *Alvarado* on his side, who to shewe his haultie stomacke, laboured all that was possible to gette two towers of the temple of *Tlatelulco*, the whiche at the length he wan, although he losse thre horses in the combat.

The next day following, the horsemen walked by and downe in the greate market place at pleasure, the poore *Mexicans* beholding that sorrowful sight from their houses. And as the Spaniards wente walking in the cittie, they founde heapes of dead bodies in the houses, streets, and in the water: they found also the barke of trees and rootes gnawen by the hungry creatures, and the men so leane and yelloe, that it was a pitifull sighte to beholde. Cortes yet againe required them to yelde, and they although they were so leane of body were strong in harte, and answered that he should not speake of any friendshippe, nor yet hope of their spoyle, for when no fortune would fauour them, then they woulde eyther burne their treasure, or throwe it into the lake, where they should neuer profite thereby, and that they would fight while one alone shoulde remaine alieue. At Cortes his nexte entry into the citie, he founde the streets full of women, children, olde

An ex-  
treme pe-  
nurie.

Ar. iiij.

folke

folke, and many miserable sicke persons whiche were perishing for want of fode.

Cortes commaunded that none of his army should doe any hurle vnto such miserable creatures. The principall folke who were whole and sounde, they stode in their forties or house toppes, without weapon, and clothed in mantels. It was thought that they kepte a certaine holy day, peace was againe offered, but they answered with dissimulation. The next day following Cortes required *Alvarado* on his side to combat a streete of .1000. houses that was not yet won, and that he would doe the like on the other side: for a little space the Citizens defended themselves, but their defence endured not, but were driuen to flie, being not able to resist the force of the contraries. So that the Spanishe army wan also that streete, and slewe 12000. Citizens, the murder was so great because the Indian friends would shewe no mercie or compassion vpon them, although they were required to the contrary. So that now the *Mexicans* hauing lost this streete also, the houses that were not beate downe could scarcely hold the people who were aliue, the streetes also being so full of dead carcasses and sicke bodies, that our men coulde not passe but must needs treade vpon them. Cortes desirous to see what remayned of the cittie to win, went by into a high tower, and hauing well beved the Cittie, he iudged that of eight parts one remained yet to win. And the next day following he assaulted the same, with speciall commaundement giuen to his army, not to kil any but only such as should resist.

The sorrowful Citizens bewayling their vnsortunate fate & desire, besought the Spaniards to make an ende, and to kill them all out of hande. Then certayne of the horsemen called Cortes in great hast, who went vnto them incontinent, hopping of some agreement of peace: and standing at the bymme of the water neare vnto a drawe

bridge,

bydge, the *Mexicans* sayde, oh captayne Cortes, considering that thou art the childe of the Sunne, why dost thou not entreate the Sunne thy father, to make an ende of vs: oh thou Sunne that canst goe rounde about the worlde in a day and a night, we pray thee make an end of vs, and take vs out of this miserable lyfe, for we desire death to go and rest with our God *Quetzacowalt* who tarrieth for vs. After these speaches they made a lamentable crie, calling vpon their Goddes with loude voyces. Cortes answered what he thought good, but yet could not perswade them to yelde, truly it was a pitefull sight to beholde.

A sorrowfull tale.

### The imprisonment of Quahutemoc.



Cortes seeing the great extremitie that these poore wretched people were in, thinking now that they would yelde vnto him, there vpon he spake to an vncle of *Dan Hernando de Tezcuco*, who was taken prisoner three dayes before, whom he desired to go to the king & treat of peace: this Gentleman refused the message, knowing the determinate will of *Quahutemoc*, but through much entreatie he graunted to his request. So the next day following Cortes entred into the Cittie, & sent that Gentleman & certayne Spaniards before him. The Indian garde of that streete receyued him with the honour which vnto such a noble man did appertayne. He proceeded forward toward the king, & being somewhere he was, he declared vnto him his embassage. When *Quahutemoc* had hearde his tale, he was so moued with yre & choller, that forthwith he commaunded him to be sacrificed, and gaue the Spaniards for they answered blowes with stones, flayes and arrowes, saying also that they desired death and no peace, and fought so stoutly that day, that they slewe many of our menne, and one horse. Likewise on their side many were slayne.

An euill resolution.

The

The next day *Cortes* entred the cittie agayne, but he fought not, hoping then that they woulde submitte themselves, but yet the Citizens had no such thought. He came nere vnto a certayne bulwarke on horsebacke, and spake vnto certayne Gentlemen with whome he was acquainte, saying that now within a shorthe space he could make an ende of their small destruction, but yet of meare compassion he wished it not, for the loue whiche he bare vnto them, so that they would in time reder themselves: wherefore (quoth he) entreate ye the king to doe the same, and in so doyng ye shalbe well bled, and haue victuals sufficient. The Gentlemen hearing these wordes, fell on weeping, and answered, that now they knew well their errour, and felte their losse and destruction, notwithstanding they were bounde to obey their king and Goddes. But yet (quoth they) abide a while, and we will certifie *Quahutimoc* what you haue sayde, and in shorthe space they went and returned againe, saying that the next day without faile their Lord woulde come and talke with him in the markette place. With this answer *Cortes* returned to his campe, and thought at their meeting to conclude an honorable peace. So against the next day he caused a Canapie and chayre of estate to be sette in the markette place, accordyng to the Mexican vse, and also a dinner to be prepared. The day followyng came *Cortes* at the houre appointed, with many of his men armed, but the king came not: neuertheless he sente five noble men to treate of the matter, excusing the kyng, saying he was not well at ease. *Cortes* welcomed those Gentlemen, and was glabbe of their coming, hoping thereby to conclude and make some good ende. And when they had dined and well refreshed their hungry bodies, *Cortes* gaue them victuals, and desired them to returne agayne to the king, and to declare vnto him that without his presence the conclusion coulde not be certaine.

certayne. They wente and returned againe within two houres, and brought vnto *Cortes* certayne mantels made of cotten woll, very good & well wrought, with answer that the king would not come in any wise, both for shame and feare. And the next day these messengers came agayn, saying that the king would come to the place appointed. But yet he came not, although *Cortes* attended his comyng more than foure houres: who seeing the mockerie, he forthwith sente *Sandoual* with his *Uergantines* one way, and he himself went an other, combatting the houses & fortes that yet remayned, where he founde small resistance, so that he might doe what he pleased. There was that day slayne and taken prysoners aboute 40000. persons, & then he retired to his campe. The lamentable crie and mourning of the women and children woulde haue made a stony hart relent, the stench also of the dead bodies was wonderfull noysome. That night *Cortes* purposed to make an end the next day of the warres, and *Quahutimoc* pretended to flie, and for that purpose had embarked hymselfe in a Canoe of twentie ores. When the day appeared *Cortes*, with his men, and foure peeces of ordinance, came to the corner where those that yet remayned were shut vp, as cattell in a pounde. He gaue order to *Sandoual* and *Aluarado* what they shold do, which was, to be ready with their *Uergantines*, and to watche the comyng out of the Canoes whiche were hidden betwixte certayne houses, and especially to haue regard vnto the kings person, and not to hurte him, but to take him aliue. He commaunded the residue of his men to force the Mexican boates to goe out, and he himselfe wente vp into a tower, inquiryng for the king, and there founde *Xihuasca*, gouernour and Captayne general of the Cittie, who woulde in no wise yelde hymselfe. Then came out of the Cittie a greate multitude of olde folkes, men, women and childre to take boate. The throng was

was so great with hast to enter the *Canoa*, that many by that means were drowned in the lake. *Cortes* required his me not to kill those miserable creatures: But yet he could not stay the *Indians* his friends, who slew and sacrificed about fiftene thousand. After this, there was a great rumour among the common people, that the king would die, making a piteous moone and saying that they sorrowfull creatures knew not whither to goe: But yet procuring to goe into the *Canoa*, whiche were so full that there was no room for the, by reason thereof many were drowned.

The men of warre stood in the house toppes and yoties beholding their perdition. All the nobilitie of *Mexico* were embarked with the kyng. When *Cortes* gave signe with the shotte of a handgumme, that his captaines should be in a readinesse, so that in shorthe space they wanne fully and wholy the great Cittie of *Mexico*. The *Mergantines* likewise brake in among the flete of boates, without any resistance, and every one sought where he might best succour himselfe, the Royall Standarte was beaten downe. *Garcia Holguin*, who was captayne of a *Mergantine*, had espied a great *Canoa* of .xx. oyes deepe laden with men. And one of his pylsoners sayde unto him, that the king wente in that greate *Canoa*. *Holguin* beyng gladd of the newes, gave chase to that *Canoa* and overtooke him. In his shouleship he had thre crossebowmen. And when *Quahutimac* who stood on the puppe of the *Canoa* ready to fight, sawe those bowes ready bent, and many drawn swordes, he yielded himselfe, declaring that he was the king. *Garcia Holguin* being a gladd man of his pylsoner, tooke and carried him unto *Cortes* who received him reverently. When *Quahutimac* came neare unto him, he layde his hande vpon *Cortes* his dagger, saying, I haue done all my possibility to defende me and mine, accordyng to my duetie, hoping not to haue come to this estate and place where

where now I stande: And considering that you may doe with me what you please, I beseeche you to kill me, and that is my only request. *Cortes* comforted him with faire wordes, giuing him hope of life and leniency, and tooke him vp into a zatie, requiring him to commaund his subiectes to yelde and render themselves: he obeyed his request. At that time there was about thre score and tenne thousande persons, who in seing their Prince, threwe downe their weapons, and submitted themselves.

### The taking of Mexico.



In the order before declared, wanne *Hernando Cortes* the famous cittie of *Mexico*, on tuesday being the .xij. of August, *An. 1521*, in remembrance wherof, and of the great victorie, every yere on that day they make a sumptuous feast & solenne procession, wherein is carried the standart royall, with the whiche the cittie was won. The siege endured thre moneths, & had therein. 200000. *Indians*, 900. *Spaniards*, 80. hoxles .17. peces of ordinaunce, 13. *Mergantines*, & 6000. *Canoa*. In this siege were slayne fiftie *Spaniards* & sixe hoxles, & no great number of the *Indians* their friends. There was slaine on the contrary side a hundred thousand, and some affirme many more: but I speake not of them that died with hunger and pestilence.

At the defence of the cittie were all the nobilitie, by reason wherof many were slayne. The multitude of people was great, who ate litle, dranke salte water, and slepte among the dead bodies, where was a horrible stench: for these causes the disease of pestilence fell among them, and thereof died an infinite number. Whereupon is to be considered, their stedfast determination, for although they were afflicted with such hunger, that they were dyuened to eat boughes, ryndes of trees, and to drinke salte water,

water, yet woulde they not yelde themselves. But at the lasse they woulde haue submitted them, and then their kynge *Quahutimoc* woulde not, because at the begynnyng they refused his will and counsell, and also with their generall deaths, should appeare no cowardise, for they kept the dead bodies in theyr houses to keepe that secrete from theyr enemies. Here also is to bee noted, that although the *Mexicans* ate mans flesh, yet they ate none of their owne Cittie or friends, as some doe thynke: for if they had, there woulde not so many haue died with hunger. The *Mexican* women were highly commended, not onely because they abode with their husbands and Fathers, but also for the greates paynes they toke with the sicke and wounded persons, yea and also they laboured in making slings, cutting stones fitte for the same, and throwing stones from the forties, for therein they dyd as much hurte as their men. The Cittie was yelded to the spoyle, and the Spanyardes toke the Golde, Plate and Jewels, the *Indian* friends had all the rest of cloth and other stuffe.

*Cortes* commaunded greates bonfires to be made in token of victorie, and also to mortifie the horrible stench of the dead bodies, whome he lykewise commaunded to be buried, and some of the prisoners menne and women he caused to be marked in the face, for the Kings slaves, and pardoned all the residue. He commaunded the *Acragantines* to be brought ashore, and appoynted one *Villa fuerte*, with 80. men to garde the, fearyng least the *Mexicans* should set fire or otherwise destroy them. In this busynesse he occupied himself foure dayes, then remoued his campe to *Culhuacan*, where he rendered hartie thanks to all the Gentlemen his friends, promysing to gratifie their good and faythfull seruice, desirynge them to departe home to theyr houses, considering the warre was at an end, whereupon

whereupon they departed almost all in generall, both rich and iocund with the spoyle of *Mexico*, and also to remaine in the fauour and grace of *Cortes*.

### Maruellous signes and tokens of the destruction of *Mexico*.



At long befoze *Hernando Cortes* came vnto the newe *Spain*, did many nightes after the midnight appeare in the aire, and in the same port and place where *Cortes* entred into that land, great lightning of fire, whiche ascended upward, and suddaynely vaded away. The *Mexicans* at that time saw flames of fire toward the orient, where now *Vera Cruz* standeth, with a great and thicke smoke, that seemed to touche the heauen and earth: this sight was fearefull vnto them.

They also saw the figures of armed men fight in the aire one with another, a new and strange sight for them, and a thing that filled their heads with ymaginations: for when there was a propheticke spoken of among them, how that white men with beards should come and rule their kingdome in the time of *Mutezuma*. The Lordes of *Texcoco* and *Tlacopan* were much amazed, saying, that the sword whiche *Mutezuma* hadde, was the armes of those folke, whose figures they had scene in the ayre, with their apparell and attyre. *Mutezuma* had muche adoe to pacifie them, saying that the weapon and apparell was of his forefathers, and because they should see the truth thereof, he gaue them the sword, and willed them to breake it if they coude, and they prouing to breake the same and could not, they marvelled thereat, and also were resolute of their opinions.

It shoulde seeme, that a little befoze these things hap-

pened, some of *Mutezuma* his subiectes founde a chest of apparell and a sword in it on the sea coast, which came floating out of some shippe that had wacked there about, and broughte it to their prince. Others affirme, that the cause of alteration among the noble men, was, when they saw the sword and apparell that *Cortes* had sent vnto *Mutezuma* by *Teudilli*, seeing it a thing so like the attire of the figures whiche they had sene in the ayre, but howsoeuer it was, they beloued with these new tokens, that their Kingdome shoulde haue an ende, when they saw those straungers come into their Countrey.

The same yeare that *Cortes* came into *Mexico*, appeared a vision vnto a certaine *Malli*, which is to say, a slave taken in the warres to be sacrificed, who at the time of his deathe and sacrifice, bewayled his sorrowfull ende, calling vpon the God of Heauen, who at that instant sawe in spirite a vision, and heard a voyce, bidding hym not to feare that death, for the God whome he had called vpon, would haue mercy vpon hym, willing hym also to say vnto the priests and ministers of the Idols, that their wicked sacrifice and bloodshedding was nere at an ende, and that there was a people at hand, that shoulde take away all that wicked and abominable religion.

This *Malli* was sacrificed in the midst of the market place of *Tlatelulco*, where at this daye is the place of execution.

They remembred, and noted well the wordes of the *Malli*, and the vision whiche they called a breath from heauen.

The earth also brake open, out of the whiche issued a marvellous greatesse streame of water, with many greatesse fishes, whiche they iudged and held for a strange pronostication.

The *Mexicans* did repozte, that when on a time *Mutezuma*

*Zuma* came triumphantly with victory of *Xochimulco*, said vnto the Lord of *Culhuacan*: Now (quoth he) *Mexico* is strong and invincible, for I haue in subiection *Xochimulco*, and other prouinces, so that now I am without feare of any enemye. The Lord of *Culhuacan* answered, saying, trust not god King too muche, for one force forceth another, with the whiche answer, *Mutezuma* was not a little offended. But when *Cortes* hadde taken them both prisoners, then he called to remembrance the former talke, and held that saying for a propheticke.

### The building vp agayne of *Mexico*,



*Cortes* pretended to redifie againe the Citie of *Mexico*, not onely for the situation and maiestie, but also for the name & great fame thereof, and also to builde vp that which he hadde beaten downe, by reason whereof he trauelled to make this Citie greater, better, and to be more replenished with people. He named and appoynted Judges, Aldermen, Attournes, Towne-clerke, Potaries, Skauengers, and Seriants, with all other officers, necessarie for the common weale of a Citie. He deuised the Citie among the Conquerors, hauing first taken out places for Churches, market places, townehouse, and other necessarie plottes to builde houses, profitable for the common weale. He also separated the dwellings of the *Spaniards* from the *Indians*, so that the water passeth and maketh deuision betwixt them. He procured many *Indians* to come to the building of the Citie, for auoiding charges, although therein he had somewhat to do, by reason that many kinsmen of *Quahutimoc* were not as yet come vnder obedience.



He made Lord of *Tezcuco*, *Don Carlos Izelixuchil*, by the consent of the Citie, in place of *Don Hernando* his brother, who was deceased, and commaunded many of his vassals to labour in the woorkes, because they were Carpenters, masons, and builders of houses. He promised also to them that were naturals of the Citie of *Mexico*, plottes to build vpon, inheritance, freedome, and other liberties, and the like vnto all those that would come and inhabite there, whiche was a meane to allure many thither. He sette also at libertie *Xihuaco* the generall Captayne, and made him chiefe ouer the *Indians* in the Citie, vnto whome he gaue a whole stræte. He gaue likewyse another stræte to *Don Pedro Mutezuma*, who was sonne to *Mutezuma* the King. All this was done, to winne the fauoure of the people. He made other Gentlemen Seniors of little *Ilandes* and strætes to builde vpon, and to inhabite, and in this order the whole scituation was repaired, and the woрке began with great ioy and diligence: but when the same was blowne abroade, that *Mexico* should be built againe, it was a wonder to see the people that resorted thither, hearing of libertie & freedome, the number was so greate, that in a whole league compasse was nothing but people both men and women. They laboured soze, and ate little, by reason whereof, many sickened, and pestilence followed, whereof dyed an infinite number. Their paines was great, for they bare on theyr backs, and drew after them stones, earth, timber, lyme, brickes, and all other things necessary in this sort, and by little and little, *Mexico* was built againe with a hundred thousande houses, moze stronger and better than the olde building was. The Spaniardes also built their houses after the Spanissh fashon. Cortes built his house vpon the platte where *Mutezuma* his house stode, whiche renteth now ycerely foure thousand duckates a yeare. *Pamfilo de Naruaez*

*Naruaez* accused him for the same, saying, that he hadde spoiled the weddes and mountaynes, and spent seauen thousand beames of Cedar trees in the woork of his own honie. The number seemeth more here than there, for where all the Mountaynes are replenished with Cedar trees, it is a small matter. There are *Sardines* in *Tezcuco*, that haue a thousand Cedar trees for walles and circule, yea and there are Cedar trees of a hundred & twenty foote long, and twelue foote in compasse from ende to end. They built faire dockes covered ouer with arches for *Uergantines*, whereas (for a perpetuall memoire) all the thirtene *Uergantines* do remaine vntil this day. They dammed by the strætes of water, where now faire houses stand, so that *Mexico* is not as it was wont to be, yea and since the yeare of 1524. the lake decreaseth, and sometime casteth out a vapour of stench, but otherwise it is a wholesome and temperate dwelling, by reason of the Mountaynes that standeth round about it, and well prouided through the fertilitie of the Countrey, and commoditie of the lake, so that now is *Mexico* one of the greatest Cities in the world, and the most noble in all *India*, as well in armes as policie. There are at the least two thousande Citizens, that haue each of them his horse in his stable, with riche furniture for them. There is also great contraction, and all sortes of occupations. Also a money house, where money is dayly coyned: a sayre schole, whiche the *Alizeroy Don Antonio de Mendosa* caused to be made. There is a greate difference betwixte an inhabitant of *Mexico*, and a Conqueror, for a Conqueror is a name of honoꝝ, and hath landes and rentes, and the inhabitants or onely dweller payeth rente for his house. When this Citie was a building, & not thoroughly furnished, Cortes came from *Culhuacan* to dwell there. The fame of Cortes, and maistie of *Mexico*, was blowne

Seauen  
thousand  
Cedar  
beames.



abroade into farre prouinces, by meanes whereof, it is now so replenished, as I haue before declared, yea & hath so many *Spaniards*, who haue conquered aboue 400. leagues of land, being all gouerned by the princely seate of *Mexico*.

Hovv the Emperour sent to take accompt  
of Cortes of his gouernement in the newe Spayne.



In these dayes Cortes was the man of the greatest name of all the *Spanish* nation, although many had defamed him, and especially *Pamfilo de Naruæz*, who was in the Court of Spaine accusing him. And where, of long time the Counsell of *India* had receyued no letters from him, they suspected, yea and beleued, whatsoeuer euil was spoken of him. Whereupon they prouided the Admirall *Don Diego Colon*, for Gouernour of *Mexico*, who at that time went to talke wth the king, pretending the said office and many others, with condition to carrie at his owne coast a thousand men to apprehend Cortes. They prouided also for Gouernour of *Panuco*, one *Nonio de Gusman*, and *Simon de Alcazawa* portingall, for gouernour of *Honduras*. To kinde moze thys mischief, and to set this busynesse forward, one *Iohn de Ribera*, the Attourney of Cortes, was a fitte and an earnest instrument againste his maister, and the cause was, for falling out with *Martin Cortes*, father vnto *Hernando Cortes*, about foure thousand Duckates which Cortes had sent by him to his father, which money the said *Ribera* his Attourney kept to his owne vse, and therefore raised many slaunders against his maister, yea and credite was giuen to his tales, but on a night he had a morsell of bacon gyven him vppon a skaffolde, wherewith he was choked in the

The reward of a knaue.

the chiefe time of his busynesse. These newe officers, and their prouisions, were not so secretly obteyned, but the matter was as secretly talked in the Countie, whiche at that time was abiding in the Citie of *Toledo*, and the proceedings serue not iust vnto the friends of Cortes. The Commendador *Pedro de Pina* opened the matter to the *Licenciat Nunez*, and vnto father *Melgarelo*, wherevppon they reclaymed of the Counsels determination, beseeching them to stay for a season, to see what newes should come from *Mexico*. Also the Duke of *Bejar* tended the cause of *Hernando Cortes*, for that Cortes by promise of faith and troth, was assured in marriage to his brothers daughter, named the Lady *Ine de Zuniga*, who apleaked the Emperoure his anger, and the saide Duke became suretie to answer in all causes for him.

The matter standing in this estate, there arriued in Spayne *Diego de Zoto*, with a whole Coluerin made of silver, and 70000. castlins in golde, the newes whereof was blowen ouer all Spaine. And to say the troth, this presente was y cause, that Cortes was not put out of his office, but a Judge of residence was sent thither to take an accompt of him. Now a wise and a learned man was sought for that purpose, yea suche one as could rule the matter, for some souldiers are oftentimes vnnanerly: wherby they thought the *Licenciat, Leues pouce de Leon* a fitte mā, who had bin Lieutenant to *Don Martin de Cordona*, Carle of *Alcaudete*, & chiefe gouernour of the citie of *Talledo*. This *Licenciate* with power sufficient, was sent vnto the new Spaine, who carried in his company as assistant, the bachelor *Marcus de Aguillar*, who hadde ruled in time past, in a worshipfull office of Justice in the *Ilande of Santo Domingo*.

With prosperous weather they departed from Spayne, and in shorte tyme arriued at *Vera Cruz*,  
Zz.ij. Cortes

Cortez hauing newes of their arriual by faste postes within two dayes. And vppon thidomey day came letters to Cortes from the Licenciate Ponce, with another letter from the Emperour, wherby he vnderstood y<sup>e</sup> cause of their coming. He returned backe incontinēt an answer, and desired to know which way he would come to Mexico, eyther by y<sup>e</sup> way inhabited, or else the other way which is nērer. The Licenciate replied, that he woulde for a while abide in Vera Cruz, to refresh himselfe, beeyng seasicke, and a man y<sup>e</sup> had not heretofore at any time passed the seas, thinking that Cortes meante to haue done iustice on certain offenders, yea & also to haue takē hym by the way: wherefoze he suspected, that Cortes had sent, by cause he woulde knowe whiche way he meant to come, whereupon he secretly tooke post horse, with certayne Gentlemē, and other religious persons that came in hys company, & passed thzough the Townes, although it was the farther way, and made suche hast, that in fīue dayes he came to Iztacpallapin, refusing the entertaynement and prouision of meate and lodging that Cortes had prepared by his Gentlemē, that wēt both the wayes to mēte him.

In Iztacpallapā they receyued him with great feast and maiestie, but after dinner, the Licenciate fell a vomiting, and the most of hys companye, and after the vomite, they fell into a fire. They thoughte that certayne hearbes was the cause thereof, whiche were in a dishe of curdes. The Licenciate was somewhat grieuē of the curdes, and toke the dishe, and offered it to father Thomas Ortiz, no (quoth the Stewarde) hys reverence shall haue another dishe, no (quoth father Ortiz) I will none of these, nor yet of anye other, of whyche wordes there were afterwarde clerkes made, suspecting somethyng of the curdes: but truly there was no hurte, or anye euill thyng putte in them, (as hereafter shall

shalbe declared) for the Comendador, Proano, who was then chiefe Sheriffe, did eate of all those dishes, yea in the same dishe that the Licenciat eate of, who neyther vomited nor yet receyued any hurte or alteration. But I thinke, that they cōmynge boate, were and hungry, did eate too muche, and dranke also colde water, whereby their stomackes reuolted, and thereof followed the fire with vomite. On the behalfe of Cortes there was presented to the Licenciat a riche present, but he refused it.

Cortes with al the flower of Gentlemen in Mexico, came to receyue him, and giuyng him the right hand, they went together untill they came to Saint Frances abbay, where after their prayers made, Cortes demaunded to see the kings prouisions, who answered, that the nexte day he woulde shew them vnto him: then they accompanied him to his house, where he was well lodged.

The nexte day followyng, all the magistrates of the Citty mette the Licenciat in the cathedrall Church, and by acte, befoze the notary, he presented his auctoritie from the Emperour. He toke the Clarks of Justice from the Judges and Sargeants, and incontinēt restored them agayne, and saide with gentle speach, this rodde of the Senior gouernour, I will haue for my selfe. Cortes with all the other Magistrates kissed the Emperours letters, and put them vpon the crowne of their heads, in tokē of great obedience, saying, that they woulde obserue and obey all that was therein contayned, as the commaundement of their king and Lorde, requyryng the same to be set downe by acte and testimony.

After these things done, they proclaymed the residence and account of iustice, of Hernando Cortes, to the intent that all persons who coulde accuse him of any vnrightful dealing, should come and make their complaint, and to haue remedy for the same. There should you then see the Shirre

and talke among them, euery officer fearyng his owne cause, with desire to see the ende of their businesse.

### The death of the Licenciat

*Luy's Ponce.*



The Licenciat comming one day from *saint Frances* abbay from seruice, fell into an extreme burnyng feuer, and lay him downe in his bedde, where he remayned the space of thre dayes, as a man out of his wittes, and the feuer stil encreasing, so that on the seuenth day he yelded by the ghost. In the time of his sicknesse he receyued the communion, and made his laste will & testament. He left for substitute in his office, the bachelor *Marcus de Aguillar*. Cortes made as greate sorrow for his death, as if he had bene his owne father, his funerals were celebrated with great pompe.

The enemies of Cortes published, that he died of popson. But the Licenciat *Pero Lopez*, and Doctor *Hoieda*, who were his Whisitions, swore that he died of a burnyng feuer, and shewed a further consequence, that the euening befoze he deceased, he desired them to play the measures vpon a lute, and as he lay in his bedde, shewed with stirring his fete the compasses and pointes of the daunce. It was a thing which diuers persons saw, and forthwith he lost his speach, and that night towarde the dawning of the day he yelded by his spirite. I thinke that fewe men do die dauncing, as this Lawier did. The number of a hundred persons came out of Spayne with the Licenciat, whereof the moste parte died by sea and on the lande. It was suspected to be a pestilence, for one of them infected another. There were in his company many Gentlemen & ech of them had an office. There was a Frier who was

A madde  
daunce.

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a very slaunderous fellow, & reported that Cortes had poisoned the Licenciat, and also that the Licenciat had an expresse order from the Emperour to cut of Cortes his head, as soon as he had taken the Oare of Justice from him. The subtle Frier, had thought to haue gotten money of the one, and thanks of the other, and at the ende had nothing.

### How Cortez came into

*Spayne.*



Here one *Alonso de Estrada* gouerned the state of *Mexico*, as substitute of *Marcus de Aguillar*, according to the Emperours commaundement, Cortes considered with himselfe that it was not possible for him to haue agayne his office, except he wente personally to the Emperours court, where he had many aduersaries and fewe friends, so that he was afflicted on euery side: yet he in fine determined to goe into Spayne, as well for businesse of importaunce of his owne, as also matters touchyng the Emperour and his new kingdoms whereof I will reherse particularly some.

As touchyng his owne causes, first he being a man of good yeres, went to marry, hoping to haue children, vnto whom he might leane the profite of his labour and payne: also to appeare befoze the King his maister face to face, and to enforme his Maiestie what Landes and Kingdomes hee had wonne and brought vnto his royall crowne: To signifie likewise vnto hym, of the dissension among the Spaniards his subiectes in *Mexico*, and to answere for himselfe, to any false reportes whiche had bene made agaynst hym: And finally, to receyue a condigne rewarde for his worthie and faythfull seruice. Cortes being in these imaginations, there was brought

brought a letter vnto him, from the reuerend father *Garcia de Lasca* ghostly father vnto the Emperour, and afterwarde was ordeyned Cardinall, in the whiche letter he conuited him earnestly to come vnto Spayne, to the content that the Emperours Maiestie mighte bothe see and know him, assuring him of his friendshippe. After the receyte of this letter, he made al the hast possible to departe vpon his iourney, ceasing from his voyage whiche he had in hande, for to inhabite the riuer *De las Palmas*. Before his departure he dispatched two hundred Spaniardes, & thre score and ten horsemen, with many *Mexicans* for the countrey of *Chichimes*, to inhabite there, finding the lande riche of siluer mines, as it was reported, giuing vnto those men cryesse order, that if the people of that prouince did not entertayne them with friendship, that then they should accept the as enemies, and forthwith to make warre, and to take them for slaues, for that they are a barbarous people. He wrote his letter to *Vera Cruz*, to prepare with all speede two good shippes, and for that purpose he sent *Peioruiz de Esquiel*, who was a Gentleman of Diuill: But he wente not on the iourney, for a moneth after, they founde him buried in a little Island of the lake, with one hande out of the graue, whiche was eaten with dogges and foule: he was buried in his dublet and his hose: he had one onely wounde in his forehead: And a *Negro*, his slaue, who wente in his company, was neuer heard of, nor yet the *Canas* and *Indians* that wente with him, so that the truth of his death was neuer knowen.

*Cortes*, made an Inuentary of his moueable goodes, whiche was valued at two hundred thousande Castlins of golde: he left for gouernour of his owne estate, the Licenciat *Alamirano* his kinsman, with other two friends: he furnished two shippes, and proclaimed free passage and viuals vnto all those that would goe in his company: he

he shipped for his owne account a thousand five hundred markes of siluer, twentie thousand Castlins in good gold, and ten thousand Castlins of base golde. He toke in his company *Gonsalo de Sandoual*, *Andres de Tapia*, and other of the chiefeest of the conquerours. He brought with him a Sonne of *Mutezumaz*, & another Sonne of *Maxixcas*, who was become a Christian, & named *Don Lorenzo*, with many other Indian Gentlemen of *Mexico*, *Tlaxcallan*, and other cities: eight players with a cudgell, twelue tennis players, with certaine men & women of that countrey, who were white of colour, and other dwarfes & deformed persons. He brought also wilde beasts, as *Tigres*, & other strange beastes called *Motochli*, and one *Tlaquaci*. Moreover he brought a great number of mantels made of feathers & Conny heare, Targets, bushes or tuffes of galant feathers, and looking glasses of stone. In fine, he came lyke a great Lorde, & arrived in Spayne, in the ende of the yere 1519. the Courte being then in *Toledo*. The newes of his arriual was blowne throug out all Spayne, and euery one desirous to see him.

### The honour vyhiche the Emperour

shewed vnto *Hernando Cortes*, with rewarde.



The Emperour receyued *Cortes* magnifically, and to giue him the greater honour, he went & visited him at his owne lodging.

The Emperour being in a readinesse to passe into Italy, to be there crowned with the Emperiall crowne, *Cortes* went in his maiesties company vnto the Citie of *Saragoza*, whereas his Maiestie calling to remembrance his worthy seruice, & valour of his person, made him *Marques del valle de Huaxacac*, ac-

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corrying to his desire, on the vij. of July, *An. 1528*, and Captayne generall of the newe Spayne, with all the provinces and coast of the south sea, chiefe discoverer and inhabiter of the same coaste and Ilandes, with the twelfth parte of all that after that tyme should be discovered, for a sure inheritauce to him and his discendentes: he offered vnto him also the habite of the order of Knighthode of Saint James, the whiche offer Cortes refused, bycause there was no rent gyven with the habite, but he besought his Maiestie to graunt vnto him the gouernmēt of Mexico, the whiche request the Emperour denied, bycause that no Conquerour shoulde thinke that the office of gouernment and iustice is due vnto hym, for the like demaunde was desired of the kyng *Don Fernando*, by *Cristowal Colon* who firste discovered the India, and also the great Captaine *Gonsalo Hernandez de Cordona*, who conquered Naples. Cortes deserved muche, and also the Emperour gaue him much, to honour him as a most bountifull and gratefull King, who neuer taketh away that whiche once he giueth. He likewise gaue vnto Cortes all the kyngdome of *Mexhuacan*, but hee had rather haue had diuers other tostones whiche he demaunded, many other great fauours and rewarde he receyued at the Emperours handes, but the principall are those befoze declared.

### The Mariage of Cortez.



When it was known in Spayne, that the lady *Catherin Xuarez*, wife vnto Cortes, was deceased in India, by intercessours he was assured vnto the Duke of *Bejar*, his brothers daughter, who was named the Lady *Jane of Zuniga*: by her fathers name was *Don Carulus de Arrellano*, Earle of *Aguilar*. This Lady was

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a bewtifull Daine, and by her brethren noble personages, who were highly in fauour with the Emperour. And Cortes to matche with so honorable an hauen and lynage he iudged himselfe fortunate and well married.

Among many Jewelles whiche Cortes broughte with him, were fine moſte riche and fine Emeraldes, whiche were valued at a hundreth thousande Duckets: the one was wrought lyke vnto a Rose, an other like a Cornet, an other lyke a fishe with the eyes of golde, whiche was a maruellous peece of worke, being wrought among Indians: an other peece was wrought lyke vnto a bell, with a great and a riche pearle for the clapper, garnished with golde, ingrauen about with letters, whiche sayde, Blessed is he that created thee. The fifth was made lyke a cuppe with the foote of gold, and had foure little chaynes of gold, that were ioyned all at the top together, in a great pearle, and the byrinne of this cuppe was of gold, with this verse ingrauen rounde aboute, *Inter natos mulierum non surrexit maior*. For this onely peece the Merchantes of *Genewa* did offer fourtie thousand Ducates, for to sel the same again to the great Turke. But at that tyme Cortes woulde not giue it for any money, although afterwarde he lost them all in the warres of *Argel*, being there with the Emperour. It was told Cortes that the Emperesse desired to haue those peeces, meaning to demaunde them of him, and that the Emperour shoulde pay for the same, for whiche cause he sent them to the Lady his newe wife, with many other Jewelles befoze he came at the Courte, and there, when he was enquired for them, he answered, and excused himselfe, for then certaynely he gaue suche Jewels vnto his Esponse, that the lyke neuer Lady had in Spayne. And after he was married to the Lady Jane of Zuniga, he departed with her to the newe Spayne, with title of Marques.

The riche  
Emeraldes.

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## How the Chancery vvas first placed

in Mexico, and certayne Diuelishe pretences  
wrought against Cortes.



Before Cortes his coming into Spayne, Pansilo de Naruaez his old enemy wet up & down in the Court, procuring the conquest of the riuer De Palmas & Florida, where at the laste he died, and alwayes when he saw time conuenient he made cōplaints against Cortes, yea and to the Emperours owne hand he deliuered a scrole of many articles, amōg the which was one, whercin he affirmed that Cortes had as many barres of gold and siluer, as in Biscay were barres of yron, and offered to proue the same: but although it was not true, yet it was suspicious. He also earnestly procured that he shold be punished, saying that he had plucked out one of his eyes, & killed with popson the Licenciat Luys ponce de Leon, & Francisco Garay. Through his many and importunate petitions, it was determined to send to Mexico, Don Pedro de la Cueva, who was bothe fierce and seuer, and Lorde Steward of the Emperour his house, and afterwarde made general of the ordinance, and chiefe Comendadoz of the order and Knight-hood of Alcantara, who finding the accusation true, should cut off Cortes his head.

But as God would, in the meane season came the testimoniall from the Doctoꝝ Hoieda, and the Licenciat Pero Lopez, Whistions, who had cured the persons that were reported to haue bene popsoned, wherupon that commission ceased. And when Cortes came into Spayne, Don Pedro de la Cueva would many times laugh and test with him, saying, From farre places long lies.

The Emperour and his counsell of India prouided a

Courte

Courte of Chancery in Mexico, as chiefe place, where as all controuersies and matters of righte throughout the new Spayne mighte there be determined, and also to correct the mutinies, and partes taking among the Spaniards: likewise to take residence and accompte of Cortes, and to be satisfied both of his seruice and offences. Moreover that they should visite the officers, and royall Treasorie there. Munio de Gusman was appoynted president and gouernoure, with other foure Licenciates for Judges to accompany him. He departed toward Mexico Anno 1529, and at his coming, he began to vnderstande in his regimēte and office, with the Licenciat John Ortiz, for the other thre Judges died by the way. Cortes being nowe absente, and vpon his iourney toward Spayne, this newe Judge made a terrible residence and condemnation againste him, and commaunded all his goodes to be solde by out-thrapple, for a greate deale lesse than his goodes were worth, and in his absence they called him by proclamation: but if he hadde bin there present, his life had bin in daunger, although face to face some respect is had, and it is an ordinarie rule that the Judge sheweth rigoure against him that is absent. This hatred was not only against Cortes, but also againste his friends, for hee apprehended Pedro de Aluado, who was newly come from Spayne, because he spake in the fauour of Cortes, laying to his charge the rebellion of Mexico, when Naruaez was there. He also apprehended Alonso de Estrada, & many others, doing manifest wrongs vnto them.

In shoꝛte space the Emperour had more complayntes againste Munio de Gusman, and the other Judge, than had bin heretofore againste any other, wherupon he was put out of office in the yeare 1530. His wrongfull dealing in iustice was not onely proued in Mexico, but also in the Court of Spayne, with many persons that were come

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from

Before the  
Judges  
came, Cor-  
tez vvas  
gone to  
Spayne.

A good  
sentence.

from thence, so that the next president and Judges that went thither, did pronounce *Nunio de Gusman* and his fellows for partiall Judges, and enemies unto *Cortes*, and condemned him to pay all his goodes whiche were euill solde. But when *Nunio de Gusman* understode that he was put out of office, he then was astraide, and toke his tourney against the *Tenuchimecas*, seeking after the Towne of *Culhuacan*, from whence the *Mexicans* descended. He carried in his company five hundred Spanyards, whereof the most were horsemen, and many of them went as prisoners, and against their willes.

Abhomi-  
nable fact.

In *Mechuacan* he toke prisoner the King *Cacconcin*, who was a great friende unto *Cortes*, a seruitour unto the Spanyards, and vassal to the Emperour, and as the same goeth, he toke from him tenne thousande markes of plate, and much golde, and afterward burned him, and many other Gentlemen, and principal persons of that kingdome, because they shoulde not complayne, saying, that a dead dogge biteth not. He toke from thence five thousand *Indians* for the seruice of his army, and with them conquered *Xalisco*, whiche is now called the new *Gallizja*. He abode there, vntill the Viceroy *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, and Chancery of *Mexico*, caused him to be apprehended, who sent him prisoner into *Spainne*, to giue accompte of his office. If *Nunio de Gusman* had bin so good a gouernour and Judge, as he was in bloud a Gentleman, he had then enioyed the best plot of all the *West India*, but he behaueued himselfe euill, both with the *Indians* and *Spanyards*.

The same yeare that he came from *Mexico*, went thither for president *Sebastian Ramirez*, who was a Bishop, and had in time past bin presidente in *Santo Domingo*, and the Licenciates *John de Salmeron*, *Gasco Quiroga*, *Francisco Ceynos*, and *Alonso Maldonado*, for Judges to accompany him.

These

These Judges gouerned well the land, and caused the Citie of *Angels* to be inhabited which the *Indians* called *Cuelaxcoapan*, that is to say a Snake in water. The reason was, because they haue two fountaynes, the one of euill water, and the other of good. This Citie standeth twentie leagues from *Mexico*, in the high way to *Vera Cruz*. The Bishop set the *Indians* at libertie, and therefore many Spanyards departed from thence, who hadde inhabited there before, and wente to seeke their liuing at *Xalisco*, *Hunduras*, *Quahutemallan*, and other places where warre was.

### The returne of Cortez to Mexico.



This season arriued *Cortes* at the riche Towne of *Vera Cruz*, and when his coming was published, how he came with title of *Marquez*, and had brought his wife with him, an infinite number of *Indians* came to visite him, and almost all the Spanyards of *Mexico*, so that in few dayes there came a thousand persons of his owne nation, who made theyr complaintes vnto him, how they were vndone, and that the Judges which had bin there, had destroyed both him and them, and asked his iudgement whether that now they might kill both them and theirs. *Cortes* hearing their obious request, reprehended them, and also gaue them hope shortly to relæue their necessitie with new discoveries, and in this order fearing some mutinie, he held them in pleasure and pastime.

When the president hearde howe *Cortes* was visited of the Spanyards, they commaunded forthwith euery one of them shoulde immediately returne to *Mexico*, or else, where their dwelling places were vpon paine of death, yea and they were aboute to apprehende *Cortes* for a stirrer of



of vppozē, and to sende him backe againe prisoner into *spayne*. But when he saw howe sone these Judges were moued, he commaunded to proclayne himselfe openly in *Pera Cruz* Captayne Generall of all the dominions of the new *spayne*, and there caused the Emperours letters pattentes to be redde, whiche thing being knowen to the *Mexican* Judges, it caused them to wping their noses. After this diligence ended, he departed toward *Mexico* wpyth a great company of *spanyards* and *Indians*, among whom were a good company of horsemen: but when he came to *Tezcuco*, the President sent to commaund him not to enter into *Mexico*, vpon payne of losse of his goodes, and bys body to be at the Kings pleasure.

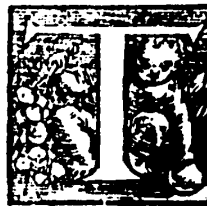
He obeyed their commaundemente with great wysedome, being a thing conuenient to the seruice of the Emperour, and profit of the land, which he had wonne wpyth great toyle and laboure: but yet he abode in *Tezcuco* with a greater maiestie and court, than the President in *Mexico*, and wrote vnto him, that he should consider his good will and whole intent, and not to giue occasion to the *Indians* to rebell, and for the *spanyards* he might assure hymselfe.

The *Indians* vnderstanding y discord betwixt the President and *Cortes*, slew as many *spanyards* as they coule get at aduantage, so that in fewe dayes there wanted a bone two hundred of the *spanish* nation, being slayne as well in *Colones*, as in the high wayes, yea and also they had communed among themselves to rebell in daede. But when the Bishop and the Judges heard this newes, they began to feare the matter, and considering that they had no better remedy, nor other sure defence, but only y name valeo, person, and authoritie of *Cortes*, they sente to desire him to come vnto *Mexico*, wherevpon he obserued they commaundement and request, & wente toward the Citie, well

well accompanied with men of warre, so that he shewed himselfe in estate a generall captaine. All the Citizens came out to receiue him and the lady *Marques* his wife: his entrie into the citie was a day of great pleasure among them. When the president and iudges entred into counsell for to remedie the greate hurt whiche had bene done by the *Indians*. *Cortes* toke the matter in hand, and apprehended many *Indians*, of whom some he burned, others wer tozned with dogges, he did such correction, that in shorthe time al the countrey was quiet, and the high ways without daunger, a thing worthy of great thanks.

The letters that the *Indians* vsed in

*Mexico*.



Here hath not bin found letters at any time in the *Weast India*, onely in the newe *Spain* were vsed certain figures which serued for letters, with the which they kepte in memoirie, and preserved their antiquities. The figures y the *Mexicans* vsed for letters are great, by reason whereof they occupy gret volumes: they ingraue them in stone or timber, and paint them vpon walles, and also vpon a paper made of cotten wool, and leaues of the tree *Metl*. Their bookes are great and folded vp like vnto our broade clothes, and written vpon both sides. There are some bookes rolled vp like a piece of flannel. They pronounce not, b. g. e. f. Therefore they vse much. p. e. l. x. This is the *Merical* speech, and *Nahual*, which is the best, playnest, and most eloquent, in al newe *Spain*. There are some in *Mexico* that do vnderstand ech other, by whistling, whiche is ordinarily vsed among louers, & theues, a speche truely to wonder at, & none of our men could come to the knowledge therof.

## The order how to reckon.

One	One
Two	Two
Three	Three
Four	Four
Five	Five
Six	Six
Seven	Seven
Eight	Eight
Nine	Nine
Ten	Ten
Eleven	Eleven
Twelve	Twelve
Thirteen	Thirteen
Fourteen	Fourteen
Fifteen	Fifteen
Sixteen	Sixteen
Seventeen	Seventeen
Eighteen	Eighteen
Nineteen	Nineteen
Twenty	Twenty

Every number is simple, until you come to six, and then they count, six and one, six and two, six and three. Ten is a number by himselfe, then you must counte ten and one, tenne and two, tenne and three, tenne and four, tenne and five.

When you count, ten five and one, tenne five and two, ten five and three. Twenty goeth by himselfe, and al the greater numbers.

The

## The Mexican yeare.

The Mexican yeare is three hundred sixty dayes, for they haue in their yere eightyone monethes, and euery moneth contayneth twentie dayes. They haue other five odd dayes, whiche goeth by themselves, in the which they vied to celebrate greate feastes of cruell and bloudy sacrifice, with much deuotion. And reckoning after this sort, they could not chosse but erre, for they could not make equal the punctuall course of the Sunne. Vea the Christian yere is not perfit, although we haue learned Astronomers. But yet these simple Indians wente neare the marke.

## The names of the moneths.

Tlacaxipenzalixtli.  
 Toxoztli.  
 Huei Toxoztli.  
 Toxcatl.  
 Ecatzoztli.  
 Tocihuicintli.  
 Hueitlacoztli.  
 Miccaihuitli.  
 Teymicanhuitl.  
 Xochpaniztli.  
 Pachli.  
 Huei Pachli.  
 Quecholli.  
 Panquetzli.  
 Atemoztli.  
 Tititl.  
 Izcalli.  
 Coauiltepec.

Bbb.ij.

The

# The Conquest of

## The names of dayes.

<i>Cipaelli</i>	A Spade
<i>Hecatl</i>	Ayre or Wind
<i>Calli</i>	A House
<i>Cuezpali</i>	A Lizard
<i>Conalc</i>	A Snake
<i>Mizquintli</i>	Death
<i>Macatl</i>	A wilde Hart
<i>Tochtli</i>	A Compy
<i>Atl</i>	Water
<i>Ixcuynli</i>	A Dogge
<i>Ocumatli</i>	An Ape
<i>Malinalli</i>	A Brome
<i>Xcatlh</i>	A Cause
<i>Ocelotl</i>	A Tigre
<i>Coauatli</i>	An Eagle
<i>Cozcaquahuatl</i>	A Bustard
<i>Olin</i>	A Temple
<i>Tepatli</i>	A Knife
<i>Quiauitl</i>	Rayne
<i>Xuchitl</i>	A Rose

Although these twentie names serue for the whole  
 yeere, and are but the dayes of every moneth, yet ther-  
 fore every moneth beginneth not with *Cipaelli*, which is  
 the first name, but as they followe in order, and the fise  
 odde dayes is the cause thereof. And also bycause they  
 weeke is of thirtene dayes, which changeth the names,  
 as by example, *Cecipaelli* can go no further thā vnto *Matl-  
 laflomeiacatl*, which is thirtene, and then beginneth an  
 other weeke: and we do not say *Matlaflinani Ocelotl*, whi-  
 che is the fourteenth day, but we say *Cecelotl* whiche is  
 one, and then reckon the other five names, vnto twenty:  
 And

And when al the twentie dayes are ended, begin againe  
 to reckon from the first name of the twentie, but not frō  
 one, but from viij. And bicause ye may better vnderstand  
 the matter, here is the example.

<i>Cecipaelli.</i>
<i>Omehecatl.</i>
<i>Ei Calli.</i>
<i>Nani Cuezpali.</i>
<i>Macuilcowatl</i>
<i>Chicoacen Mizquintli.</i>
<i>Chicome Macatl.</i>
<i>Chicuei Tochtli.</i>
<i>Chiconamiatl.</i>
<i>Matlaciz Cuintli.</i>
<i>Matlaflome Ocumatli.</i>
<i>Matlaflome Malinalli</i>
<i>Matlaflomei Xcatlh.</i>

The next weeke following both begin his dayes from  
 one. And that one is the fourteenth name of the moneth  
 and of the dayes, and saith.

<i>Cecelotl.</i>	<i>Macuil Tecpatl.</i>
<i>Ometoauatli.</i>	<i>Chicoacen Quiauitl.</i>
<i>Eicozcaquahuatl.</i>	<i>Chicome Xuchitl.</i>
<i>Nani Olin.</i>	<i>Chicuei Cipactli.</i>

In this second weeke, *Cipaelli* came to sal on the eighth  
 day, being in the first weeke the first day,

<i>Cematatl.</i>
<i>Ometochitli.</i>
<i>Eiatl.</i>
<i>Nani Ixcuynli.</i>
<i>Macuil Ocumatli.</i>

3bb. (1)

3ba

And so proceede on to the thirde weeke, in the which this name *Cipactli* entreteth not, but *Macatl*, which was the seventh day in the first weeke, & had no place in the second, and is the first in the third. This reckoning is no darker, than ours, which we haue in a.b.c.d.e.f.g. for they also change with time, and runne in such sort, that. a. which was the first letter of this moneth, cometh to be the fift daye of the next moneth, and the thirde moneth he counteth to be the third day, and so orderly doth the other five letters.

### The accounting of yeares.

These *Mexicans* had another order to reckon theyr yeares, which exceded not aboue foure in number, as one, two, thre, foure, wherewith they accounte a hundred, five hundred, a thousand, and as many moe as they lust. Those foure figures or names are, *Tochtli*, *Acatlh*, *Tecpatlh*, *Calli*, and do signifie, a Conny, a Cane, a Knife, and a House, saying.

*Ce Tochtli*  
*Ome Acatlh*  
*Ei Tecpatlh*  
*Nauicalli*  
*Macuil Tochtli*  
*Cicoacatl Acatlh*  
*Cicome Tecpatlh*  
*Chicuei Calli*  
*Chiconauic Tochtli*  
*Maslatli Acatlh*  
*Maslatlioc Tecpatlh*  
*Maslatliome Calli*  
*Maslatliomei Tochtli*

One yeare  
 Two yeares  
 Thre yeares  
 Foure yeares  
 Five yeares  
 Six yeares  
 Seauen yeares  
 Eight yeares  
 Nine yeares  
 Tenne yeares  
 Eleuen yeares  
 Twelue yeares  
 Thirtene yeares

So that the reckoning passeth not aboue thirtene, which is one weeke of the yeare, and endeth where he began.

### Another Weeke.

<i>Ce Acatlh</i>	One yeare
<i>Ome Tecpatlh</i>	Two yeares
<i>Ei Calli</i>	Thre yeares
<i>Nauic Tochtli</i>	Foure yeares
<i>Macuil Acatlh</i>	Five yeares
<i>Chicoacatl Tecpatlh</i>	Six yeares
<i>Chicome Calli</i>	Seuen yeares
<i>Chicuei Tochtli</i>	Eight yeares
<i>Chiconauic Acatlh</i>	Nine yeares
<i>Maslatli Tecpatlh</i>	Tenne yeares
<i>Maslatlioc Calli</i>	Eleuen yeares
<i>Maslatliome Tochtli</i>	Twelue yeares
<i>Maslatliomei Acatlh</i>	Thirtene yeares

### The third weeke of yeares.

<i>Ce Tecpatlh</i>	One yeare
<i>Ome Calli</i>	Two yeares
<i>Ei Tochtli</i>	Thre yeares
<i>Nauic Acatlh</i>	Foure yeares
<i>Macuil Tecpatlh</i>	Five yeares
<i>Chicoacatl Calli</i>	Six yeares
<i>Chicome Tochtli</i>	Seauen yeares
<i>Chicuei Acatlh</i>	Eight yeares
<i>Chiconauic Tecpatlh</i>	Nine yeares
<i>Maslatli Calli</i>	Tenne yeares
<i>Maslatliome Tochtli</i>	Eleuen yeares
	Twelue

Matlahtliome Acatlh Twelve yeares  
Matlahtliomei Tecpatlh Thirtene yeares

## The fourth Weeke.

Ce Calli	One yeare
Ome Tochli	Two yeares
Ei Acatlh	Thre yeares
Nani Tecpatlh	Four yeares
Macuil Calli	Five yeares
Chicoacen Tochli	Sixe yeares
Chicome Acatlh	Seauen yeares
Chicuei Tecpatlh	Eight yeares
Chiconani Calli	Nine yeares
Matlahtli Tochli	Tenne yeares
Matlahtliome Acatlh	Eleuen yeares
Matlahtliome Tecpatlh	Twelue yeares
Matlahtliomei Calli	Thirtene yeares

Each of these weekes, which our men call Indition, doth conteyne thirtene yeares, so that all the foure weekes make two and fiftie yeares, which is a perfit number in the reconing, and is called the yeare of grace, for from fiftie two yeres, to fiftie two yeares, they vled to make solemne feastes, with strange Ceremonies, as hereafter shall be declared. And when fiftie two yeares are ended, then they beginne againe, by the same order befoze declared, vntill they come to as many moe, beginning at Ce Tochli, and so forwarde. But alwayes they begin at the Conny figure. So that in the forme of reconing they kepe & haue in memorie, things of 8,50. yeares, and by this Cronicle they know in what yere euery thing hapned, and how long euery King reigned: howe many children they had, and all things else that importeth to the estate of the gouernement of the lande.

The

The Indians beleued that fise ages  
were past, which they called Sunnes.



The Indians of Cullua did beleue that the Gods had made y world, but they knew not how, yet they beleued that since the creation of the world four Sunnes were past, and that the fift and last is y Sunne that now giueth light to the world.

They helde opinion that the firste Sunne perished by water, and at the same time all liuing creatures perished likewise.

The second Sunne (say they) fell from the heauens, with whose fall all liuing creatures were slayne, and then (said they) were manye Giantes in that Countrey, and certayne monstrous bones, which our men found in opening of graues, by proportion whercof, some shoulde seeme to be men of twenty spannes high.

The third Sunne was consumed by fire, whiche burned day and night, so that then all liuing creatures were burned.

The fourth Sunne finished by tempest of ayre or winde, which blew downe houses, trees, yea and y mountaynes and Rockes were blowe asunder, but the lignage of mankind perished not, sauing that they were conuerted into Apes. And touching the fift Sunne, which now reigneth, they know not how it shall consume. But they say that when the fourth Sunne perished, all the worlde fell into darkenesse, and so remained for the space of fise and twenty yeares continually, and at the fiftenth yeare of that fearefull darkenesse, the Gods did forme one man and a woman, who brought forth children, and at the end of the other tenne yeares, appeared the Sunne whiche was newly borne vpon the figure of the Conny day, and

Cre.

there

therfoze they begin their account of yeres at y day, & reckoning from the yere of oure Lozde 1552. their age of Sunne is 858. so that it appeareth that they haue vled many yeres their wyting in figures: and they had not onely this vse from *Cetoahli*, whiche is the beginning of their yere, moneth, and day of their fifth Sunne, but also they hadde the same order and vse in the other foure Sunnes which were past: but they let many things slippe out of memozie, saying, that with the newe Sunne, all other things should be likewise new. They held also opinion, that thre dayes after this last Sunne appeared, all the Gods did dye, and that in pzoesse of time the Gods whiche nowe they haue, and worshippinge, were bozne. And thzough these false opinions, our Diuines did some conuert them to the knowledge of the true lawes of God.

### The nation of the Indians called

*Chichimecas.*



**M** the lande now called newe spayne, are dyuers and sundry generations of people: but they holde opinion, that the stocke of most antiquitie, is the people now called *Chichimecas*, whiche pzoceeded out of the house of *Aculhuacan*, which standeth beyond *Xalisco*, about the yere of our Lozde. 720. Many of this Generation did inhabite aboute the lake of *Tenuchtilan*, but their name ended by mixture in marriage with other people. At that time they hadde no King, noz yet did builde eyther house or Towne. Their only dwellings was in caves in y spoyl saynes. They went naked, they sowed no kind of graine, noz vled bread of any sozte. They did mainteyne themselves with rootes, hearbes, and siluester frutes: and being a people cunning in shooting with the bowe, they kept

led

led deare, hares, connyes, and other beastes and soule, which they ate also, not sodden or roasted, but rawe, and dyed in the Sunne. They ate also Snakes, Lizards, and other filthye beastes, yea and at this day there are some of this generation that vse the same dyet. But although they liued suche a bestiall life, & being a people so barbarous, yet in their diuelish religion they were verye deuout. They worshipped the Sunne, vnto whome they vled to offer Snakes, Lizards, & such other beastes. They likewise offered vnto their God all kinde of soule, from the degre of an Eagle, to a little Butterflie. They vled not sacrifice of manslaughter, noz had any Idolles, no not so muche as of the Sunne, whome they helde for the sole and only God. They married but with one woman, & in no degre of kinred. They were a stout and a warlike people, by reason whereof, they were Lozdes of the land.

### The Coronation of the Kings of Mexico.



**A**lthough one brother was heire to another among the *Mexicans*, and after their deceasse, did inherite the Sonne of the eldest brother, yet they toke no possession of the state noz name of King vntil they were annoynted and Crowned openly.

As soone as any King of *Mexico* deceased, and his funerals ended, then were called to Parliamente the Lozde of *Texcuco*, and the Lozde of *Tlacopan*, who were the chiefest estates, and then in order all other noble men, who owed any seruice to the Mexican Empire. And being come together, if any doubt of the inheritace of y crowne happened, then the matter was decided with al hast: then the newe King being knowen, he was stripped starke naked, except a cloth to couer his priuate partes, and in thys sozte was carried among them, to the greate Temple

Ccc. y.

of

of *Xitzilopuchli* with greate silence, and without any ioy or pleasure: Two Gentlemen of the Citie whose office it was, ledde him vpp the staires of the Temple by the armes, and besoze him wente the Princes of *Texcoco* and *Tlacopan*, who that day did weare their robes of Coronation, whereupon was paynted their armes and title. Cleere felwe of the Laytie wente vp into the Chappels, but only those that were appoynted to attire the newe king, and to serue in other Ceremonies, for all the residue stode vpon the steppes and belowe, to beholde the Coronation. These Magistrates beinge aboue in the Chappell, came with great humilitie and reuerence, kneeling downe vpon their knees besoze the Idoll of *Xitzilopuchli*, and touched the earth with one finger and then kissed the same. When came the high prieste clothed in his pontifical vestmentes, with many others in his company, who did weare surplices: and withoute speaking any worde, they paynted or couloured the kings person, with ynke made for the purpose, as blacke as any cole. After this Ceremonie done, they blessed the annoynted kyng, and sprinckled him foure times with a certayne holly water, that was made at the time of consecration of the God, made of dowe or passe, with a sprinckle made of boughes of Cane leaues, Cedar, & willow leaues. When they put vpon his head, a cloth painted with the bones and skulles of dead men, and next they clothed him with a black garment, and vpon y another blew, and both were paynted with y figures of dead mens skulles & bones. When they put about his necke certaine laces, wherent did hang the armes of y Crowne. And behind his backe they did hang certain little bottels ful of powders, by vertue wherof he was deliuered from pestilence and diseases, according to their opinio: yea & therby witches, nor witchcrafts could not hurt him, nor yet euill menne deceyue him. In syne,

with

with those reliques he was sure from all perill and danger. Vpon his lefte arme they bounde a litle bagge of incense, and then bzought vnto him a chaffing dishe of inners made of the barke of an Oke tree. When the king arose, and with his owne hande threwe of the same incense into the chaffing dishe, and with great reuerence bzought the same to the God *Xitzilopuchli*, and after he had smoked him therewith, he satte him downe, then came the high Priest and toke his othe to mainteyne the religion of the Goddess, to keepe also all the lawes and customes of his predecessours, to mainteyne iustice, and not to aggrauate any of his vassals or subiects, and that he shoulde be valiant in the warres, that he shoulde cause the Sunne to giue his light, the cloudes to yelde rayne, the riuers to runne, and the earth to bring forth all kinde of grayne, fruytes, and other needefull hearbes and trees. These and many other impossible things the newe kyng, did sweare to performe: and then he gaue thanks to the high priest, and commended himself to the Goddess and to the lookers on, and they who bzought him vp in the same order, carieth him downe agayne. When all the people cried, the Goddess preserue the newe kyng, and that he may raigne many yeres in health with al his people. But then some began to daunce, other to play on their instrumētts, shewing outwardly their inwarde ioyes of harte. And besoze the king came to the foote of the steppes, all the noble men came to yelde their obedience, and in token of louing and faythfull subiectes they presented vnto him feathers, strings of snayle shelles, collours, and other Jewelles of golde and siluer, also mantels paynted with death, & bare him company vnto a great hal within the compasse of the temple, and there lefte him. The king sitteth downe vnder his cloth of estate, called *Tlacatecco*, and in foure daies departeth not out of the circuyte of the temple, the which

Ccc. liij.

he

The oymt-  
ment,



he spendes in prayers, sacrifice and penance, he eateth then but once a day, and euery day he bathes himselfe, and agayne in the night in a great ponde of water, and then lettes himselfe bloud in his eares, and senseth there with the God of Water, called *Tlaloc*: he likewise senseth the other idols, vnto whome he offereth bread, flowers, Papers and little Canes died in the bloude of his owne tongue, nose, handes, and other partes of his body. After the foure dayes expired, then come all the Noble men to beare him company to his palayce with great triumphe and pleasure of all the Cittie, but after his consecration seue or none dare looke him in the face.

And now with the declaring of the actes and Ceremonies that the Mexican Kings are crowned, I shall not neede to rehearse of other kyngs, for generally they all do vse the same order, sayng that other Princes goe not vp to the toppe of the Temple, but abide at the fote of the Steppes to be crowned, and after theyr Coronation they come to Mexico for their confirmation, and then at theyr returne to their countrey, they made many drunkē feasts and banquets.

### The opinion of the Mexicans concerning the Soule.

**T**he Mexicans did beleue that the Soule was immortal, and that they receyued either ioy or payne according to theyr desertes & liuyng in this worlde, vnto which opinion all their religion did attayne, and chiefly appeare at their burials. They holde for an assured faith, that there were nine places appointed for soules, & the chiefest place of glory to be neare vnto the Sunne, where the soules of those whiche were god

good men slaine in the warres, & those which were sacrificed were placed, and that all other sortes of euill persons their soules abode on the earth, & were deuised after this sorte, childzen that were dead bozne went to one place, those which died of age or other disease went to another, those which died of sudden death to another, those whiche died of woundes or contagious diseases went to an other place, those which were drowned went to another, those which were put to death for offence by order of iustice, as for robbery and adultery to another: Those which slewe their fathers, mothers, wiues or childre, to another place by themselves, also those who slew their maysters or any religious person went to another place. The common sorte of people were buried, but Lordes and rich men had their bodies burned & their ashes buried. In their shreudes they had a greate difference, for many dead bodies were buried better apparellled than when they were on liue. Women were shrewded after another sorte. And he that suffered death for adulterie was shrewded like vnto the God of leachery, called *Tlazoultentli*, he that was drowned like vnto the God of water named *Tlacoc*, and he that died with drunkenesse was shrewded like vnto the God of wyne called *Ometochtli*. But the Souldier had an honorable shrewde like vnto the attyre of *Virzilopuchtli*, and the lyke order in all other sortes of deathes.

### The buriall of Kings in Mexico.

**W**hen any kyng of Mexico happened to fall sicke, they vled forth with to put a visor vppon the face of *Tezcatlipuca*, or *Virzilopuchtli*, or some other Idoll, whiche visor was not taken awaye, vntill

untill they sawe whether the kyng did amend, or else die: But if he chaunced to die, then worde was sent through out all his dominions to bewaile his death, and also other postes were sent to call the poble menne that were his nighest kinsmen, and to warne them within foure dayes to come vnto his buriall.

The dead body was layde vpon a sayze matre, & was watched foure nightes, with great lamentation and mourning: then the body was washed, and a locke of heare cut from the crowne of his head, whiche was preserued as a great relicke, saying that therein remayned the remembrance of his soule. This done, a fine Emerald was put into his mouth, and his body shewded in seuentene riche mantles, of colours, both riche and costly wrought. vpon the vpper mantle was sette the deuise or armes of *Vitzilopuchli* or *Texcalipuca*, or of some other idoll, in whome the kyng had greate confidence in his lyfe tyme, and in his temple should the body be buried. vpon his face they put a visor, paynted with foule and diuelish gestures, besette with many iewelies, precious stones, and pearles. When they killed his slaue, whose office was to light the Lampes and make fire vnto the Goddes of his pallayce. These things done, they carried the dead body vnto the Temple: some followed him with dolefull tune, others song the death of the kyng by note, for so was the custome.

The poble men and Gentlemen of his houtholde carried Targets, Arrowes, Pales, and Ensignes to throwe into the fire where the body should be buried in the Temple. The high Priest and all the Clergie receyued him at the Temple gate, with a sorrowfull song, and after he had sayde certayne wordes, the body was throwen into a great fire made for the purpose, with all the iewels that he had aboute him, and all the other things whiche was brought

brought to honour the buriall: also a dogge newly strangled with an arrowe, whiche was to guyde him his way. In the meane whyle that the king and dogge were burning, the Priests sacrificed two hundred persons, howbeit in this Ceremonie there was no ordinary tare, for sometymes they sacrificed many moe: they were opened with a rasour of flint in the brestes, and theyr hartes taken out and throwen into the fire where the kings body was. These miserable persons being sacrificed, and their bodies throwen into a hole, they beleued assuredly that those shoulde serue for his slaves in another worlde: some of them were dwarffes, monstrous and deformed persons, with some women. They placed about the dead body of the king befoze his buriall, Roses, floures and sundry dishes of meate and drinke, and no creature durste touche the same, but onely the Priests, for it seemed to be an offering.

The next day following, all the ashes were gathered together, and the teeth with the Emerald that was in his mouth, the whiche things were put into a chest, paynted on the inside with horrible figures of diuels, and the locke of heare whiche was cut from his crowne, and another locke of heare which was preserued from the tyme of his birth. When the chest was lockt, and an image of wood made and clothed like vnto the kings person, which was set on the toppe of the chest. The obsequies endured foure dayes, in the whiche the wiues and daughters of the king offered great offerings at the place where his body was buried, and befoze the chest and his image.

On the fourth day after the buriall, fiftene slaves were sacrificed for his soule, and on the twentieth day other fve persons were also sacrificed, likewise on the sixtie three, and fourscore, whiche was lyke vnto the yeres minde.

The order of buriall of the Kings  
of Michuacan.

**T**he kingdome of Michuacan is almoste as great as the Empire of Mexico, and when any king of that countrey happened to be visited with sicknesse, and brought to suche extremitie, that hope of life were past, according to the opinion of Physicians, then would he name and appoint whiche of his Sonnes shoulde inherite the estate, and being knowne, the new king or heire, incontinent sent for all the gouernours, Captaines, and valiant souldiers, who had any office or charge to come vnto the buriall of his father, and he that came not, from thenceforth was helde for a Traytour and so punished. When the death of the olde king was certayne, then came aldea-grés of Estates and brought presents to the newe king, for the approbation of his kyngdome, but if the king were not thoroughly dead, but at the poynt of death, then the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter, and when his lyfe was departed, then beganne a generall crye and mourning, and they were permitted to come where their dead kyng lay, and to touche him with their handes: this being done the carkasse was washed with swete waters, and then a fine shyte put vpon him, and a payre of shoes made of a Deere skinne put on his fete, and aboute his ancles were tied certayne belles of golde, about his wyestes of his handes were put Spanyllas of Turkies, and other bracelets of golde, lyke wise aboute his necke they hong other collers of precious stones and golde, and rings in his eares, with a greate Turke in his neather lippe. When his body was layde vpon a large heare, whereon was placed a good bedde vnder him: on his one side lay a bowe with a quyer of arrowes, and on his

his other side lay an image made of fine mantels of his owne stature or bignesse with a greate tuffe of fine feathers, shoes vpon his fete, with bracelets and a collar of gold. Whyle this worke was a doyng, others were busied in washyng the men and women whiche shoulde be slayne for to accompany him into Hell: these wretched folke that shoulde be slaine were banqueted & filled with drinke, because they shoulde receyue their death with lesse paine. The newe kyng did appoint those who shoulde die for to serue the king his father, but yet many of them had rather bene without his seruice, notwithstanding some simple soules esteemed that odious death for a thyng of immortall glory. First seven Gentlewomen of noble parentage were appoynted to die, the one to haue the office of keeper of his Iewels which he was wont to weare, another for the office of cup bearer, another to giue him water with a basen and ewer, another to giue him alwayes the bynall, another to be his Cooke, and another to serue for landres. They set also many women slaues, and free maydens for to attende vpon the Gentlewomen, and moreover one of euery occupation within the citie. When all these that were appoynted to die were washed & they bellics full with meate & drinke, then they paynted their faces yelowe, and put garlandes of swete floures vpon each of their heads. When they went in order of processio before the beare whereon the dead king was caried, some wente playing on instruments made of shayle shelles, others played vpon bones and shelles of seaturtills, others went whistlyng and the most part weping: the Sonnes of the dead kyng & other noble men caried vpon their shoulders the beare where he coule lay, & proceeded with an easie pace towards the Temple of the God *Chricaneri*: his kinsmen went round about the beare, singyng a sorrowful song. The officers and household seruants of the Court w other

Magistrates and rulers of iustice bare the Standartes and diuers other armies.

About midnight they departed in the order aforesayde out of the Kings palayce with great light of fire bzandes and with a heauy noyse of trumpets and drummes. The Citizens which dwelt where the corse passed, attended to make cleane the streete. And when they were come to the temple, they wente foure tymes rounde about a great fire made of the wodde of Pine tree, whiche was prepared to burne y dead body: then the beare was layd vpon the fire, and in the meane while that the body was burning, they mailed with a clubbe those whiche had the garlandes, and afterwarde buried them by foure and foure, as they were apparelled behind the Temple.

The nexte day in the moynynge, the ashes, bones and Jewels was gathered and layde vpon a riche mantle, the whiche was carried to the temple gate, where the priests attended to blesse those Diuelishe relikes, whereof they made a dowe or paste, and thereof an image whiche was appareled lyke a man, with a visor on his face, and all other sortes of Jewels that the dead King was wonte to weare, so that it seemed a gallant idoll. At the fote of the temple staires, they opened a graue ready made, whiche was square, large, & two fadome deepe, it was also haged with new mattes rounde about, and a sayze bed therein, in the whiche a religious man placed the idoll made of ashes, with his eyes toward the east parte, and honge rounde aboute the walles Targets of golde and silver, with bow and arrowes, & many gallant tusses of feathers with earthen vessels, as pottes, dishes & platters, so that the graue was filled vp with household stuffe, chests covered with leather, apparell, iewels, meate, drinke, and armour. This done, the graue was shut vp & made sure with beames, bozdes, and flozed with earth on the toppe.

All

All those Gentlemen which had serued or touched any thing in the buriall, washed them selues, and wente to dinner in the Courte or yarde of the Kings house without any table, and hauing dined, they wiped their hands vpon certayne lockes of Cotton wol, hanging downe their heads, and not speaking any word, except it were to aske for drinke. This Ceremonie endured fve dayes, and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the Citie, except in the Kings house and Temples, nor yet any coine was ground, or market kept, nor none durst goe out of their houses, shewing all the sorrow that might be possible for the death of the King.

### The order of Matrimony among the Indians.



In *Tlaxcallan* and many other Cities, was vled as a principall Ceremonie and token of marriage, that the Bridegrome and his Bride, against the day of marriage, had their heads polled, whiche was to signifie, that from that day forward, all childishe orders should be laide aside, and from that tyme new heare myght grow, to declare another kind of lyfe. The chiefeft knotte of marriage vled in *Michuacan* was, that the Bride doe looke directly vpon hir spouse, for otherwise the Matrimony was not perfite nor auaylable.

In *Mixtecoapan* which is a greate prouince, they vse to carrie the Bridegrome to be married vpon their backs, which is to be vnderstode, that he goeth against his wil, but yet they take hands, in token that the one shall helpe the other, and then they knitte both their mantels together with a great knotte, signifying that they ought continually, while life lasteth, to dwell together.

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The Indians called *Macatecas*, consume not their Patrimony in twenty dayes after their marriage, but abide in fasting and prayer all that while, sacrificing their boyes, and annoynting the mouthes of the Idolles wth their owne proper blood.

In *Panuco* the husbandes buy their wiues for a bowe, two arrowes, and a nette, and afterwarde the father in lawe speaketh not one worde to his sonne in law for the space of a whole yeare. And when the husbande hapneth to haue any child, he lyeth not any moze with his wife in two yeares after, for feare least she might be with childe againe befoze the former childe were out of daunger, although some doe sucke vntyll twelue yeares of age, and for this consideration they haue many wiues. Likewise there is an order among them, that no woman may touch or dresse any thing being with theyr menstruall ordinarie.

Diuorcement was not permitted without a iust cause and authoritie of Iustice, among those who were openly married, but the other sort might be as easily forsaken as taken.

In *Mechuacan* was not permitted any diuorcement, excepte the partie made a sollemne othe, that they loked not the one on the other stedfastly and directly at the time of their marriage. But in *Mexico* they must proue how the wife is barraine, foule, & of a naughty condition: but if they put away their wiues without order and commaundement of the Judge, then the heare of the offenders head is burned in the market place, as a shame or punishment of a man without reason or witte.

The payne of adultery was death, as well for the man as the woman: but if the adulterer were a Gentleman, his head was decked with feathers after that he was hanged, and his body burned, and for this offence was no pardon,

pardon, eyther for man or woman, but for the auoyding of adultery they do permitte other common women, but no ordinary stewes.

### Of the Iudges and order of Iustice.

**I**n *Mexico* were twelue Judges, who were all noble men, graue, and well learned in the Mexican lawes. These men liued only by the rentes that properly apperteyne to the maintenance of Iustice, and in any cause iudged by the, it was lawfull for the parties to appeale vnto other twelue Judges, who were of the princes blood, and alwayes abode in the Court, and were mainteyned at the Kings owne cost and charge. The inferior Judges came ordinarily once euery moneth to consult with the higher. And in euery fourescore dayes came the Judges of euery prouince within the Mexican Empire, to consult with the Judges of *Mexico*, but all doubtful causes were reserued to the King, onely to passe by his order and determination. The Painters serued for notaries, to paint al the cases which were to be resolu'd, but no sute passed aboue fourescore dayes without finall ende and determination. There were in that citie twelue Sergeants, whose office was to arrest, and to cal parties befoze the Judges. Their garments were painted mantels, wherby they were knowen a farre off. The prisons were vnder ground, moyst and darke, the cause whereof, was to put the people in feare to offend. If anye witnesse were called to take an oth, the order was, that he shoulde touche the grounde with one of his fingers, and then to touch his tong with the same, whiche signified that hee had swozne and promised to speake the troth wth his tōg, taking witnes therof, of y<sup>e</sup> earth which did mainteine him. But some do interprete the oth, y<sup>e</sup> if the partie swa  
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not true, that then he mighte come to such extremitie, as to eate earthe. Sometime they name and call vpon the God of the crime, whose cause the matter touched.

The Iudge that taketh byrbes or gistes, is forthwith put out of his office, whiche was accounted a most vile and shamefull reproch. The *Indians* did affirme, that *Necaualpincintli* did hang a Iudge in *Texcuco*, for giuing an vniust sentence, he himselte knowing the contrary. The murther is executed without exception.

The woman with child that wilfully casteth hir creature, suffereth deathe for the same, because many women did voluntary vse that fact, knowing their childezen could not inherite. The punishment of adultery was death.

The Thiefe for the first offence was made a slaue, and hanged for the second. The traytor to the King and comon weale, was put to death with extreame tormets.

The woman taken in mans apparel byed for the same, and likewise the man taken in womans attire. Euerie one that challeged another to fight except in the warres, was condemned to die. In *Texcuco* the sinne of *Zodomy* was punished with death, & that law was instituted by *Necaualpincintli*, & *Necaualcoto*, who were Iudges, which abhorred y filthy sinne, & therfore they deserued great praise, for in other prouinces y abominable sin was not punished, although they haue in those places comon strewes, as in *Panuco*.

### The order of cruell Sacrifice used among the Indians.



At the ende of euerie twenty dayes, is celebrated a festiuall feast called *Tonali*, which falleth continually the last daye of euerie moneth, but the chiefest feast in the yeare, when most men are sacrificed & eaten, is at the

the ende of euerie fiftie two yeares. But the *Tlaxcaltecas* and other common weales, do celebrate this feast euerie fourth yeare.

The last day of the first moneth is called *Tlacaxipeualiztli*, on the which day were slaine a hundred slaues, which were taken in the warres, and after the sacrifice, their flesh was eaten in this order. All the Citizens, gathered themselves together in the high Temple, and the Ministers or Priestes came and vsed certaine ceremonies, the which being ended, they toke those whiche were to be sacrificed, by one and one, and layd them vpon their backs vpon a large stone, and then the slane being on liue, they opened him in the breast, with a knife made of flinte stone, and toke out his hart, whiche they threwe immediately at the fote of the Altar, as an offering, and anoynted with the fresh bloude, the face of the God *Vitzilopuchli*, or any other Idol. This done, they pluckt of the skinner of a certaine number of them, the which skinner so many auntient persons put incontinēt vpon their naked bodies, al fresh & bloudy, as they were fleane from the deade carcases. And being open in the backe part and shoulders, they vsed to lace them, in such sorte that they came fitte vpon the bodies of those that ware them, and being in this order attired, they came to daunce among many others. In *Mexico* the king him selfe did put on one of these skinner, being of a principall captiue, and daunced among the other disguised persons, to exalte and honoꝝ the feast, and an infinite number followed him to behold his terrible gesture, although some hold opinion that they followed him to contemplate his greate deuotion. After the sacrifice ended, the owner of the slaues did carry their bodies home to their houses, to make of their flesh a solenne feaste to all their friends, leauing their heades and hartes to

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the Priestes, as their dutie and offering. And the skimmes were filled with cotten wool, or strawe, to be hong in the temple, and kings pallayce, for a memorie.

The slaues when they went to their sacrifice, were apparelled in the habite or deuise of the Idol vnto whom ech of them did commend himselfe: and mozeouer they decked them with feathers, garlands and floures. Many of these sort of people, do go to the slaughter with ioyfull countenannce, dauncing, demanding almes through the Citie for their sacrifice, all the whiche almes is due vnto the priestes. When the greene cozne was a fote aboue the ground, they used to go vnto a certain hil whiche was appointed for such deuotion, and there sacrificed two children, a boy, and a girle of thre yeares of age, to the honoz of *Tlaloc* god of water, beseeching him therfore deuoutlye, to haue alwayes a care to prouide them water: these children were first bozne, and therfore they hartes were not taken out of their bodies, but after that their throttes were cut, their bodies were wrapped in a new mantel, and then buried in a graue of stone.

The feast of *Toxozli* was, when the fields of Maiz were growen two fote high, then a certaine summe of merchandise was gathered among the dwellers in the towne, wherewith were bought foure little slaues betwixt the age of five and seuen, and they were likewise sacrificed to the god *Tlaloc*, for continuall houres of rayne. And those dead bodies were shut vp in a caue appointed for the same purpose. The beginning of this sacrifice of foure children was, at the time when in foure yeres space it rayned not, in the whiche season y springs were dryed vp, and al greene things perished: wherfore they were forced to leaue the countrey, and went to inhabit at *Nicaragua*. In the moneth and feast of *Hueitatzli*, when the cozne fields of Maiz were ripe, then e-

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uery one in generall gathered his handfull of Maiz, and brought it vnto the temple for an offering, with a certaine drinke called *Atuli*, whiche is made of the same Maiz. They brought also the sweete gum *Copalli* to sense the gods which do cause the cozne to growe: and all that night they ceased not dauncing without drunkenesse. At the beginning of summer they celebrate an other feast called *Tlaxuchimeaco*, with all kinde of woses and sweete floures that might be gotten, and thereof they used to make garlands to set vpon the Idols heades, and so spent all that day in dauncing. And to celebrate the feast called *Tecuilhuizli*, al the gentlemen, and principall persons of ech prouince, do come vnto the Citie, on the euening of the feast, and then they apparel a woman with the attyre of the Gods of salt, who daunced among a great company of hir neighboures. But on the next day she was sacrificed with all the Ceremonies and solemnitie accustomed, and al that day was spent in great deuotion, burning of incense in the fire pannes of the temple.

The merchants who had a temple by themselves dedicated to the god of gaines, made their feast vppon the day called *Micailhuizli*, wherein they slewe many slaues in sacrifice, which they had bought, and banqueted that feast with mans flesh, dauncing al the day. The feast of *Ychpanizli* they sacrificed a woman, and afterward hyr bodye was slayne, and hir skinne put vppon an Indians backe, who daunced two days a row with al the townsmen, which were apparelled in their best attyre to celebrate y feast. The day of *Hatamutzli* y feast is kept in Mexico, where they enter into y lake w a great nuber of Canoes, & there they drowne a boy & a girle in a litle boat, which they cause to be sonke, in such sorte, that neuer after that boat appeareth again: and they hold opinion y

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those children were in company with the Goddess of the lake. So that, that daye was spent in feasting in the temples, and annoynting the Idols cheekes, with gum called *Yli*. There were some Images that had their faces two ynches thicke with that gum.

### The order of certaine religious

women.



At the backe side of euerye greate Temple, in euerye Cittie was made a greate Hall or lodgynge, standing alone, where as manye women did eate, drinke, lodge, & leade their liues. And although suche houses had no orders, they aboad there sure ynough. These women which lay in the houses of the Goddess, were of sundry intentions. But none of them came to abide there al their life time, although among them wer some olde women. Some entered into those religious houses being sicke and diseased, hoping there to reconer theyr health: others came thither throught pure neede, and necessitie, to be there relieved: other some came thither to be good and vertuous: and some entered into the religion, hoping that the Goddess woulde giue vnto them riches, and long life. But generallye their comming thither was, to haue good husbannes, and manye children: eche of them bowed the time that they woulde or ment to abide in that order, and after that time expired they married.

The first thing that they did comming into the religion, was to polle their heads, to be knowne fro others.

Their

Their offices were to spinne cotton wool and feathers, and to weaue cloth, for to apparel the Goddess and themselves, to swepe the yarde and lodgings of the temple (so the Kappes and high chappels, the ministers themselves did make cleane) they vsed also to let them bloud in certaine partes of the body, to offer to the Diuellish Idols. On euery festiual day they went on procession with the priestesses, but it was not lawfull for them to presume to go vpper the Kappes of the temple, nor yet to sing. They liued on almes, for their kinsfolke being rich, did maintaine them with almes as a charitable seruice done vnto the Goddess: their foode was boyled flesh, and hote bread, to the intent that they shoulde offer therof to the Goddess, that they might tast of the smoke of that victual: they vsed to eate in communitie, and lay altogether, in one dormitorye, as a flocke of sheepe: they lay alwayes in theyr clothes, for honestie sake, and also to be the soner ready in the morning to serue the Gods, & to go to their worke. And yet I know not why they shold put off their clothes, for they went almost naked. On the holy dayes they vsed to daunce before the Gods, and she that either talked or laughed with any religious or secular person, was reprehended for the same. And if any of them committed whoresome, then both the man & the woman were slain, yea they believed that all suche offenders shoulde rotte and consume away, and especially those which had lost their Virginitie in the time of their religion. So that with feare of punishmente and infamie, they were good women al the while that they aboad there.

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How

## The Conquest of How the Diuell appeared to the Indians.



**L**he Diuell did many times talke wyth the priestes, and with other rulers and perticular persons, but notwith al sort of men. And vnto him to whom the Diuell had appeared, was offered & presented great giftes. The wicked spirit appeared vnto thē in a thousand shapen, and fashions, & finally he was conuersant and familiar among them very often. And the folkes thought it a greates wonder, that Gods would be so familiar with mortal men. Pearing not knowing that they were Diuels, and hearing of them many things befoze they had hapned, gaue great credite and beltefe to their illusions and decettes. And bycause he commaunded them, they sacrificed suche an infinite number of creatures. Likewise he, vnto whom he had appeared, carried about him painted, the likenesse wherein he shewed himself the first tyme. And they painted his image vpon their dozes, benches, and euery corner of the house. And as he appeared in sundry figures & shapen, euen so they painted him, of infinite fashions, yea and some foule, grieuouse, & feareful to beholde, but yet vnto them, it seemed a thing delectable. So this ignorant people giuing credite to y condēned spirite, were growen euen to y highest hill of crueltie, vnder the colour of deuout & religious persons, yea they had suche a custome, that befoze they would eat or drinke, they would take thereof a little quantitie, & offer it vnto the sun and to the earth. And if they gathered corne, fruite, or roses, they would take a leafe befoze they would smel it, & offer the same. And he that did not obserue these & such other ceremonies, was iudged one y had not god in his  
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part, yea & (as they say) a man out of the gods fauour.

## The Viceroyes of Mexico.



**T**he greatnesse of the newe Spayne, the Maiestie of Mexico, and the qualittie of the conquerers, required a man of noble bloude to gouerne, wherevpon the Emperour sente thither Don Antonio de Mendosa, brother vnto the Marques de Moniar, for viceroy, at whose arrival there returned from thence Sebastian Camires, who had gouerned that countrey with great discretion and worthy commendation. In recompence wherof the Emperour made him president of the chancery of Valladolid, and bishop of Culuca. Don Antonio de Mendosa was appointed viceroy in the ycare. 1534. who carried with him many artificers verie experte in their sciences, likewise through his intercession, a money house was erected in Mexico: he also caused silke to be made and wrought in that countrey, and planted many Mulberry trees for the same, although the Indians little care for suche things through their slothfulnesse and gret liberty. This viceroy Don Antonio, called all the Bishoppes, cleargy, and learned men togither, to consult vpon ecclesiastical matters, which tended to the doctrine of the Indians. At that instant was decreed, that the Indians shoulde be instructed only in the latin tong, which they learned verie well and also the Spanishe tong. They learne the Musicke with good wil, especially the flaute: their voyces are not good for the prycke song. At that season was also decreed, that no Indian shoulde take order of Priesthood.

The

The viceroy *Don Antonio* built certaine towneſ with Romaine pillars, in honoꝝ of the Emperour, and cauſed his name to be grauen in Marble. He alſo began the kay of wharfe in the porte of *Medellin*, a coſtly and neceſſarie worke: he alſo reduced the *Chichimecas* to ciuel liuing: he ſpente muche money in the entraunce of *Sibola*, without any profit, and alſo thereby remayned an enemy to *Cortes*. He likewiſe diſcouered much land on the ſouth coaſt neare *Xalisco*: he ſente alſo ſhippes to *Molluca*, for ſpices, which were loſt: he behaued himſelf very prudēt, dently in the rebellion time of the *Indians* of *Piru*.

The Emperour commaunded him afterwarde to goo vnto the *Piru* for viceroy, conſidering the licenciat *Gasca*, who gouerned there, was returned into *Spain*, and likewiſe hauing vnderſtood his good gouernement in the new *Spaine*, although ſome complaints were made of hym. It grieued *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, to departe from the newe *Spaine*, where he founde himſelfe wel beloued among the *Indians*, who had cured him of ſundry diſeaſes with bathes of *Hearbes*, where beſore he was ſtarke lame, and alſo poſſeſſed of lands, Cattell, and other rich things, whiche he was loth to leaue. Likewiſe he deſired not to haue to deale with other newe men, whoſe conditions he knewe not, although he knewe that the *Piruleros* were ſtubboꝝne and vnruly ſelowes. But of neceſſitie he was compelled to take that iourney by lande from *Mexico* to *Panama*, which ſtandeth ſine hundred leagues diſtant, in the yeare 1551. And that yere came *Don Luyſ de Valaſco* for viceroye to *Mexico*, who was a Gentleman wiſe and diſcrete in his gouernement. The office of viceroy in the newe *Spaine*, is a charge of great honoꝝ and profite.

The

The conuerſion of the *Indians*.

How greatly are thoſe *Indians* bound to prayſe God, who being ſeruants of Satan, and loſt ſheepe, yet it pleaſed the goodneſſe of the Almighty to haue compaſſion of the, who hath giuen them light to come out of darkeneſſe, and brought them to the knowledge of theyꝝ cruell and abhominable life, and hath nowe giuen vnto them the holy Ghoſt in baptiſme: oh moſt happie *Cortes*, thy paynes was well employed, oh valiant Conquerors, your names ſhall liue for euer. I am now bolde to ſaye, that all that lande which is conquered in the new *Spaine*, the people thereof are generally conuerted vnto the faith of *Jeſus Chryſte*: oh what a greate felicitie is it vnto thoſe bleſſed kyngs who were the beginners thereof.

Some doe ſaye, that in the newe *Spayne* onely are conuerted Chriſtians ſixe millions. Others hold opinion of eyght millions. And otherſome doe aſſuredly affirme, that aboue tenne millions are Chriſtened. But in concluſion, I am aſſured, that within the limittes of four hundred leagues, there are none vnchriſtened.

The conuerſion began with the Conqueſt, but wpyth the diligence in proſecuting the warres, little good was done, vntyll the yeare 1524. and then the matter wente forwarde effectuallye, by reaſon that certayne learned men wente thither for the ſame purpoſe.

At the begynnyng it was a troubleſome thyng to teach them, for wante of vnderſtandyng the one of the other, wherefore they procured to teache the chyldren of Gentlemen whiche were moſt apteſt, the *Spaniſhe* tong.

And

and

and they likewise learned the *Mexican* speech, in the whiche language they dayly preached. It was at the firste a paynfull thing to make them leaue those Idols in whome they had euer beloued, yea and the Diuell gaue them cruell warres in spirite, and manye times, in appearing in diuers formes vnto them, threating, that if they dyd call vpon the name of Iesus Christ, it shoulde not rayne, and that all their delight and pleasure shoulde be taken from them, prouoking them still to Rebellion against the Christians, but his wicked counsell would not preuaile.

Through greate punishmente they haue left off the horrible sinne of Sodomy, although it was a great grieue to put away their number of wines.

There are nowe in the newe Spayne eyght Bishops, whercof one is an Archbishoplike.

### The death of Hernando

*Cortes.*

**T**HERE was a greate contention betwene *Hernando Cortes*, and *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, the Viceroy, as concerning the province of *Sibola*, for each of them pretended a title vnto the same through the Emperours gift, the one by meanes of his office of Viceroy, and the other by his office of Captayne Generall, vpon the whyche matter they grewe into such hatred, that perfyte friendshipde coulde neuer after take place betwene them, although at the beginning they were familiar and louing friends: but malice grewe to suche extremitie, that eache of them wrote vndercently agaynst the other, to the Emperoure they maister,

the whyche they doyngs blemished both they credites.

*Cortes* wente to lawe with the Licenciat *Villa Lobos* the Kings Attourney, aboute certayne of his vassals, and also the Viceroy assisted agaynst him as muche as he myghte. Vpon consideration whercof, he was enforced to come into Spayne in Anno 1540. and broughte *Don Martin* his sonne and heire, beryng a childe of eyght yeares of age, and his sonne *Don Luy*, to serue the Prince: he came very riche, but not so riche as the fyrste time. He entred into great friendship with the Cardinal *Loaisa*, and the Secretarie *Cobos*, but it preuailed not, for the Emperoure was gone into flanders about matters of Cant.

In the yere 1541. the Emperoure personally wente to the siege of Argell with a mightie armye, and *Cortes* with his two sonnes went also thither to serue him with a good compaignie of men and Horses, but it pleased God to raise vp suche a tempest, wherewith the most parte of the fleets perished. *Cortes* then being in the Galley of *Don Henrique Enrikes*, called the *Esperanca*, and fearing to lose his rich emraldes and other Jewels at the time that the Galley was dyuen by violence of weather vpon the shore, he then bound about him the sayde fyue rich emraldes, esteemed in a hundred thousande Duckates, yet notwithstanding through the throng of people, and hast to escape out of oyle and mire, the Jewels fell from him, who coulde neuer heare moze of them, so that the present warres cost hym moze than any other, except the Emperours state, although *Andrea de Oria* lost eleuen Gallies.

But the losse of treasure graued hym not so much, as the excludyng hym out of the Counsell of the warres, wher as other yong Gentlemen of lesse knowledge

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and abilltie were accepted, which was a cause of greate murmurynge among the host. And where in the counsell of warre it was determined to leaue the sarge and to depart, it græued manye, whereupon Cortes made an open offer, that he alone with the Spanishe nation would presume to take *Argell*, haupng but the one halfe of the *Tu-DESCOS* and *Italians*, if it woulde please the Emperoure to graunte vnto hym the enterpryse. The Souldyers on the lande dyd hyghly commende hys courage, but the Sea menne woulde giue no care vnto him, so that it is thoughte that the offer came not to the Emperoures knowledge. Cortes wente vp and downe in the Courte a long season, being soze afflicted in a certaine sute aboute hys bassals, and also the procelle and allegations of *Nunio de Guzman*, layde vnto hys charge in hys residence. The whole procelle was sene in the counsell of *Indias*, but iudgemente was neuer pronounced, whyche was a greate hartes ease for Cortes. And then he departed from the Courte towarde *Siuill*, with determinate wyll to passe vnto the newe Spayne, and to ende his lyfe in *Mexico*, and also to receyue the Lady *Mary*, Cortes hys daughter, who was come from *India*, and promised in marriage vnto *Don Aluar Perez Osorio*, with a hundred thousande Duckates in dowry, and hys apparell, but the marriage toke no effecte, through the faulte of *Don Aluar* and hys father.

He then fell sicke of a fluxe and indigestion, whiche endured long, so that on hys iourney towarde the Citie of *Siuill*, he departed thys transitory lyfe, in a little Village called *Castilleia de La Cuesta*, whiche standeth a myle from the Citie of *Siuill*, on the seconde of December Anno 1547. beeyng threescore and thre yeares of age:

His body was deposited to the dukes of *Medina Sidenia*.

¶

He left a Sonne and thre Daughters begotten of the Lady *Jane de Zuniga* his wife, his Sonne was called *Don Martin Cortes*, who did inherite his fathers estate, and was married vnto the Lady *Ana de Arellano*, his cousine, daughter to the Countie *De Aguilar*, by order of his father.

The daughters vnto Cortes were named as foloweth, the lady *Donca Maria*, *Donca Catalina*, and *Donca Isana* who was the yongest. He had another Sonne by an Indian woman, and he was called *Don Martin Cortes*. He had also another base sonne by a Spanishe woman, who was named *Don Luy Cortes*, and thre daughters by thre senecall Indian women.

Cortes buyt an hospitall in *Mexico*, and gaue order for a Colledge to be also erected there. He builde also a Temple in *Cosacac*, where he willed in his Testament that his bones shoulde be buried at the charges of his Sonne and heyre.

He situated foure thousand Ducates of rent,

whiche yeldeth yereely his houses in *Mexico*

for the purpose aforesayd, of the which

foure thousande Ducates, twose

thousand shoulde be to maynteyne

the Students in

the Colledge.

(.)

FINIS.

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